

A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For D E C E M B E R, 1788.

The VISITANT.

(Continued from page 393.)

No. VII. *Remarks on the fair sex.*

MY professed regard for the fair sex has occasioned various conjectures, as to my character. Many conclude, that I have studied philosophy more than the ladies, and that I judge too hastily from appearances. Some imagine, that the indefatigable industry with which I have applied to whatever regards the fair sex, must proceed from an unaccountable partiality, and they think this has too far prejudiced me in their favour: and hence there are those, who think that I am one of the more serious sort of their daily attendants; and some that I am an old bachelor, who has devoted his life to their service, in the character of a general admirer. Others again suppose, that this boasted knowledge in female affairs must be a mere pretence, which I have insinuated to give a sanction to my sentiments: they insist, that I discover but little acquaintance with the female mind: and some things, which I have advanced, gave occasion to a gentleman of figure in the *beau monde*, to make a shrewd guess—that I was never married.

Whence proceed the unfavourable sentiments, which are generally entertained of the fair sex?—I believe, that, among other causes, the following will be found to be of great influence;—that the ladies, in their endeavours to please, do not always make a proper distinction between admiration and esteem—There are qualities, which are the objects of our admiration, and not the objects of our esteem; and therefore the most effectual steps to excite the former, may not have the least tendency to engage the latter. I beg leave to enquire, whether a lady is not to be looked on as an intelligent creature, and whether the qualities, which we may expect in her

in consequence of it, are not to possess the first rank among her accomplishments?—certainly they are; and it evidently follows, that all the pains, which a woman can take to attract the admiration of the world principally to accomplishments independent of these, are spent to make her appear less important than she really is; inasmuch that, should a man allow more admiration to these inferior qualities, than is due to them, yet still he may have less esteem for the woman than she merits. As I would do all that lies in my power, to instruct my fair readers in the art of pleasing, I must request them to pay a particular attention to this distinction: for, whenever it comes to be a prevailing fault among the ladies, that they appear to pride themselves most upon accomplishments, which have very little connexion with the virtues of the mind—men are naturally led to imagine, that such accomplishments are the most important of female excellencies; and hence they entertain sentiments of the sex, which tend to undervalue them.

When a woman appears too fond of the charms of her person, we call her vain:—vanity consists in valuing ourselves upon accomplishments, which are of little importance. We look upon those, who are addicted to vanity, as persons of a narrow mind; and hence it is, that this vice is the object of our contempt as well as our aversion.

Now, what is the consequence of this female vanity?—Why, men form their idea of a woman's merit, according as she excels in those qualities, which inspire it. Such a lady is an agreeable figure, when she moves in a minute; and therefore she is called a fine woman. Another walks the streets with a grace:—"what an excessive fine woman!"—cries every fool that sees her. A young lady comes into company with a pretty face, after

preparing in the best order at the looking-glass; and she is stiled a fine woman by all the beauty-gazers present. Miss Such-a-one, on account of her handsome face, has the privilege of talking agreeable nonsense as long as she pleases, and is allowed to be a most extraordinary fine woman. Now it is for these very qualities, upon which the vain part of the fair sex value themselves, that their company is so much courted by the silly part of ours; and with these a fine woman sometimes signifies very little more, than an agreeable trifler, or a pretty fool.

A woman may easily know, whether a man has a real esteem for her, or not:—if he has, he will respect those qualities in her, which are calculated to produce it: if he has not, he will behave as if he thought her deficient in those qualities. In the fair sex we admire good sense, virtue, and delicacy. Now, there are many—and these too the most punctual in their devoirs—who actually expect to recommend themselves to their favour by vices the most opposite to these. A young fellow, for instance, is not ashamed to appear before a lady, when he is half-seas over. The lady, when she sees him next, attempts to shew her disapprobation by a kind of smiling gravity, if I may use the expression; he, in his turn, laughs off the matter with an air of indifference—knowing very well that she is not seriously displeased with him; nay, he values himself, perhaps, upon his manly exploits: she, good-natured soul, cannot persuade herself to be angry at him; not considering, that, if he had the least respect for her, he would never have appeared before her in that condition; and if he had any opinion of her moral principles, he would, at least, have been ashamed of what he had done. I think the fop can never entertain a high opinion of the woman's understanding, to whom he pays his court; he thinks the excellencies, which will recommend him to her, are those, for which he is chiefly indebted to his taylor, and his dancing master; and looks upon it as the utmost reach of her capacity, to admire him for these excellencies. The flatterer cannot but undervalue the woman he flatters; he must not only suppose her vain of

her charms, before she can relish his flattery; but that this vanity has made her so blind, that she cannot distinguish truth from falsehood. In short, if a man esteems a lady for her good sense, her modesty, and her virtue, he will recommend himself to her by such qualities, as will appear most amiable to one of that character; but if his behaviour is such, that a sensible and virtuous woman ought to be displeased with it, he may think he adores her—but he cannot seriously esteem her.

If a lady would acquire esteem, she should cultivate those virtues which render the female mind amiable, and give importance to the sex; but if she would be admired only, let her exert all her skill to put on her best face, and take every opportunity of shewing it to advantage. If admiration be her aim, the most effectual method to obtain it, is this—Let her frequent such places, as will oblige her to spend a great deal of time, and to exert as much taste in dress as she is mistress of, to prepare her to make a proper appearance,—and where she will not be suspected of having bestowed a single thought upon any thing but her person. But if she would be esteemed, I would advise her never to go where she cannot excel in those virtues, which are the glory of a woman.

To those, who have considered the actions of woman-kind, the follies, into which an excessive desire of admiration leads the sillier part of them, must appear very ridiculous. A young lady, for instance, is engaged to a set of company, where she expects to meet with a circle of her own sex, as trifling as herself, and a number of ours, more trifling still. No care is wanting to prepare her for the important meeting: for hours, before she makes her appearance, she represents to her mind the admiration due to her transcendent charms; and, no doubt, expects that every body else will admire them, as much as she does herself. When Celia speaks to you, whatever it is her tongue utters, her eyes evidently demand—"don't you think me extremely pretty?"—and, whenever you addresses her, you may plainly discover, that she thinks you are principally engaged in admiring her beauty. Chloe, as she walks the streets, discovers to you, in every step, her idea of her

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own importance : she supposes herself followed by the eyes and hearts of every one near her—now and then, perhaps, she gives a fly glance, to observe whether it is really so. The blooming Florella courts your attention with a different air—she affects to conceal her charms by a down-cast look, expecting that this will increase people's desire of viewing them, and knowing very well, that they will gain admiration, in proportion as they seem to shun it.

A lady should consider, that the world is apt to undervalue her beauty, in proportion as she seems to over-rate it :—we begin to ask ourselves, whether the woman is really as handsome, as she thinks herself ; nay, 'tis ten to one, that we begin to search narrowly for her blemishes, and place them in opposition to her boasted excellencies. Now, whenever a lady is disappointed in her immoderate fondness of admiration, she is displeased with herself and every body else ; let me advise her, therefore, if she desires to preserve her good nature and peace of mind, to be moderate in her expectations.

It appears, then, that the ladies, while they court our admiration, make us forget those qualities in them, which should be the objects of our esteem. For my own part, my profound respect for the fair sex, has led me to enquire into the several sources of this excessive love of admiration, from the different ways in which it is usually expressed. When a lady enters a room, I can tell, by her air, what qualities she admires in herself,—how much admiration she expects from the company,—and how long she has been preparing herself for it. In the street I can discover whether it is her face, her gait, or her shape, she would have you most admire. Nay, so exact has been my scrutiny, that I know very well a lady's opinion of every feature in her face, that is likely to engage the attention :—the disposition of her hair tells me whether she values herself upon any important beauties in her forehead :—when she speaks, I immediately know, whether she does it for the sake of conversation, or to shew the whiteness of her teeth, and the graces of her lips :—the cheek and countenance, methinks, are generally corre-

spondent :—as for the eye, the language of it is so copious and various, that it has called forth my utmost skill to understand the niceties of it : and yet, I believe, I know enough of it, to discover many things, which some ladies would not choose to be known.

The observations which I have made, qualify me the better for the character of a public monitor to the fair sex, by acquainting them with the foibles to which they are liable. Some of these I have taken the liberty to mention : but in a manner, that reflects honour upon the sex in general, since it points out a way, by which they might become more amiable in the eyes of the world, than they are at present. My sentiments, I hope, have hitherto been favourably received by my fair readers ; and this I am encouraged to believe, by the following lines, which it would be injustice to my fair correspondents, as well as myself, to suppress. L.

To the Visitant, from a circle of ladies, on reading his paper, No. 8.
[See page 118.]

HA I L, candid, gen'rous man,
whoe'er thou art ;
Thy sentiments bespeak a noble heart.
With joy we stile thee, censor of, the
fair—

To rectify their foibles be thy care,
Thee, who canst give to virtue praises
due,

We safely trust—to lash our errors
too,

No keen reproach from satire's pen
we fear,

Of little minds, or painted toys to
hear.

You, sir, with better sense, will justly
fix

Our faults on education, not our sex ;
Will shew the source, which makes the
female mind

So oft appear but puerile and blind.

How many would surmount stern cus-
tom's laws,

And prove the want of genius not the
cause ;

But that the odium of a bookish fair,
Or female pedant, or " they quit
their sphere,"

Damps all their views, and they must
drag the chain,

And sigh for sweet instruction's page
in vain.

But we commit our injur'd cause to
you—

Point out the medium which we should
pursue ;

So may each scene of soft domestic
peace

Heighten your joys, and animate your
bliss.

Philadelphia, March 14, 1768.



*Remarks on the origin of government,
and on religious liberty : ascribed
to his excellency, Wm. Living-
ston, governor of New-Jersey.*

MANKIND being undoubtedly
all born free, and naturally too
proud and too fond of power, to sub-
mit to the controul of another, with-
out a proper consideration for parting
with their native liberty ; govern-
ment beyond question owes its origin
to common consent. It was for the
superior advantages of civil society to
the lawless and predatory state of na-
ture, that men consented to abridge
their primitive freedom, and submit
to the restraints of political institu-
tions. As the weaker and more
virtuous were, in their natural condi-
tion, a perpetual prey to the stronger
and more avaricious, it became neces-
sary for the former, in order to be
screened from the rapacity of the lat-
ter, to institute a more equitable tri-
bunal for the decision of private con-
tests, than mere animal strength.
Hence it became requisite to fix a
common standard of right, for ad-
justing all disputes about property ;
and to appoint persons to enforce that
standard upon those who would other-
wise appeal to violence. The former
we denominate laws, and the latter
the civil magistrate, who is to carry
them into execution. Civil policy
was therefore established, and the
civil magistrate appointed by the peo-
ple to secure, by laws, the persons
and property of the several indivi-
duals composing the society, from
those invasions of both, to which, in
a state of nature, every one was ob-
noxious ; and from which, nothing but
transcendent personal force could
defend him. For this end, the exe-
cutor of the laws, not being stronger
in his natural capacity than another,
was, as magistrate, armed with the
united power of the whole commu-

nity, which no individuals can resist.
It is therefore evident, that govern-
ment was instituted for the good of
the people, and consequently the
magistrate, whose business it is to ex-
ecute government, for the same salu-
tary purpose. Hence the absurdity
of supposing princes and rulers su-
pernaturally invested with sovereignty,
and born to live in uninterrupted lux-
ury and voluptuousness, and their sub-
jects destined by providence to toil
and sweat for their particular emolu-
ment. And yet if we consider how
government is carried on in almost
every part of the globe, and retain in
our minds the original design of ma-
gistracy, how greatly shall we find
this benevolent design abused and per-
verted ? Wherever we turn our
eyes we behold the desolations of ar-
bitrary power, and the people groan-
ing under insupportable bondage. Ut-
terly unmindful of their origin, and
forgetting the intent of their investiture,
those exalted worms of the dust have
arrogated to themselves powers which
were never bestowed ; and ungratefully
abused the authority really transfer-
red to them for the happiness of their
subjects, to their ruin and misery.
Some by open assault, with armies
raised by the state for public defence ;
others by the secret sap of largesses
and corruption ; and all by confede-
rating with the priesthood, and con-
certing a most iniquitous coalition of
spiritual and temporal domination,
have finally triumphed over liberty ;
and defaced the beautiful creation of
God with the infernal devastations of
tyranny. But of all their machina-
tions to give stability to despotism,
their combination with the clergy
has proved the most efficacious and
destructive : for ecclesiastics having
generally the keeping of men's consci-
ences, were found the best calculated
to reconcile their devotees to servi-
tude, and to, I know not what, blas-
phemous ideas of the divine right of
royal roguery ; while kings, to increase
their influence, and enable them the
more successfully to propagate this po-
litical heresy, found it for their inter-
est to enrich them with revenues, and
raise them to dignities almost rival-
ling the splendor of potentates. Hence
the most junction of kingcraft and
priestcraft, (the most fatal engine

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ever invented by Satan for promoting human wretchedness) usually called the alliance between church and state, but in reality a most atrocious conspiracy between two public robbers, for sharing between them the plunder of nations; and for that purpose mutually supporting, and supported by, each other. And hence all politico-ecclesiastical establishments, under pretence of promoting religion, by kings who generally have none, and church dignitaries, who seldom care for any.

With power, thus combined, the clergy were able to compel a submission to their dogmas, by calling the secular arm in aid of their persecutions; and sovereigns, to enchain the people, by the terrors of another world, denounced against them by the clergy, for disobeying the edicts of heaven's viceregent, the king. And thus have these spiritual and temporal plunderers (inseparably united) caballed the human species into vassalage, and systemed mankind into all the calamities, which our nature is capable of enduring.

Excepting the small territory of Switzerland, this is a true picture of every part of the world. It is certainly a true portrait of England; where, instead of regarding the interest of the people, administration is nothing but a villainous intrigue still farther to extend the too extensive prerogatives of the crown, and still more to aggrandize the grandeur of the grandees. For these purposes are employed every engine of kingcraft, priestcraft, and (the deformed mis-shapen progeny of both) statecraft, with every species of bribery and corruption which either human, infernal, or diabolical wit is able to set in motion. And is there any creature among us in human shape, so lost to all sense of liberty and virtue, as not to exert his utmost efforts to prevent the standard of British tyranny from being planted in this happy region, the only spot upon earth, except the Swiss Cantons, where men can call themselves free-men?

I shall, in a future essay, contrast the horrors of slavery with the inestimable blessings resulting from our independence; and prove it the duty of every man, in love to himself, his species and posterity, to contend for

its support and perpetuity with the last drop of his blood.

January, 1778.

Remarks on liberty of conscience.

I PROMISED, in the preceding essay, to shew that the inestimable pre-eminence of our free constitution, compared with the tyranny of Britain, ought to induce every man, in love to himself, his posterity and mankind, to defend it to the last extremity. In discharge of my engagement, I shall consider, in my present speculation, our superiority to our late fellow-subjects in England, with respect to liberty of conscience.

If, in our estimate of things, we ought to be regulated by their importance, doubtless every encroachment upon religion, of all things the most important, ought to be considered as the greatest imposition; and the unmolested exercise of it, a proportionable blessing.

By religion, I mean, an inward habitual reverence for, and devotedness to, the Deity; with such external homage, either public or private, as the worshipper believes most acceptable to him. According to this definition, it is impossible for human laws to regulate religion, without destroying it: for they cannot compel inward religious reverence, that being altogether mental, and of a spiritual nature: nor can they enforce outward religious homage; because all such homage is either a man's own choice, and then it is not compelled; or it is repugnant to it, and then it cannot be religious.

The laws of England, indeed, do not peremptorily inhibit a man from worshipping God, according to the dictates of his own conscience; nor positively constrain him to violate it, by conforming to the religion of the state. But they punish him for doing the former; or, what amounts to the same thing, for omitting the latter; and consequently punish him for his religion. For, what are the civil disabilities, and the privation of certain privileges he thereby incurs, but so many punishments? And, what else is the punishment for not embracing the religion of others, but a punishment for practising one's own? With how little propriety a nation

can boast of its freedom, under such restraints on religious liberty, requires no great sagacity to determine. They affect, 'tis true, to abhor the imputation of intolerance; and applaud themselves for their pretended toleration and lenity. As contradistinguished, indeed, from actual prohibition, a permission may, doubtless, be called a toleration: for, as far as a man is permitted to enjoy his religion, under whatever penalties or forfeitures, he is certainly tolerated to enjoy it. But as far as he pays for such enjoyment, by suffering those penalties and forfeitures, he as certainly does not enjoy it freely. On the contrary, he is persecuted in the proportion that his privilege is so regulated and qualified. I call it persecution, because it is harassing mankind for their principles; and I deny that such punishments derive any sanction from law, because the consciences of men are not the objects of human legislation. And to trace this stupendous insult on the dignity of reason to any other source than the one from which I deduced it in the preceding essay, I mean, the abominable combination of kingcraft and priestcraft (in everlasting, indissoluble league, to extirpate liberty, and erect on its ruins boundless and universal despotism) would, I believe, puzzle the most assiduous enquirer. For, what business, in the name of common sense, has the magistrate (distinctly and singly appointed for our political and temporal happiness) with our religion, which is to secure our happiness spiritual and eternal? And indeed, among all the absurdities chargeable upon human nature—it never yet entered into the thoughts of any one, to confer such authority upon another. The institution of civil society I have pointed out, as originating from the unbridled rapaciousness of individuals, and as a necessary curb to prevent that violence, and other inconveniences, to which men, in a state of nature, were exposed. But who ever fancied it a violence offered to himself, that another man should enjoy his own opinion? Or who, in a state of nature, ever deemed it an inconvenience, that every man should choose his own religion? Did the free denizens of the world, before the monstrous birth of priestcraft, aid-

ing, and aided by, the secular arm, ever worry one another, for not practising ridiculous rites; or for disbelieving things incredible? Did men, in their aboriginal condition, ever suffer persecution for conscience-sake? The most frantic enthusiast will not pretend it. Why, then, should the members of society be supposed, on their entering into it, to have had in contemplation, the reforming an abuse, which never existed? Or why are they pretended to have invested the magistrate with authority to sway and direct their religious sentiments? In reality, such delegation of power, had it ever been made, would be a mere nullity; and the compact, by which it was ceded, altogether nugatory—the rights of conscience being immutably personal, and absolutely inalienable: nor can the state or community, as such, have any concern in the matter. For, in what manner doth it affect society, which is evidently and solely instituted, to prevent personal assault, the violation of property, and the defamation of character—and hath not (these remaining inviolate) any interest in the actions of men—how doth it, I say, affect society, what principles we entertain in our own minds; or in what outward form, we think it best to pay our adoration to God? But, to set the absurdity of the magistrate's authority to interfere in matters of religion, in the strongest light, I would fain know, what religion it is, that he has authority to establish? Has he a right to establish only the true religion; or is any religion true, because he does establish it? If the former, his trouble is as vain, as it is arrogant: because the true religion being not of this world, wants not the princes of this world to support it; but has in fact either languished, or been adulterated, whenever they meddled with it. If the supreme magistrate, as such, has authority to establish any religion he thinks to be true, and the religion so established is therefore right, and ought to be embraced—it follows, since all supreme magistrates have the same authority, that all established religions are equally right, and ought equally to be embraced. The emperor of China, therefore, having, as supreme magistrate in his empire, the same right to establish the precepts

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of Confucius—and the sultan, in his, the imposture of Mahomet—as hath the king of Great-Britain the doctrine of Christ in his dominion—it results from these principles, that the religions of Confucius and Mahomet, are equally true with the doctrine of our blessed Saviour and his apostles, and equally obligatory upon the respective subjects of China and Turkey, as christianity is on those within the British realm: a position, which, I presume, the most zealous advocate for ecclesiastical domination would think it blasphemy to avow.

The English ecclesiastical establishment, therefore, is, and all the religious establishments in the world, are manifest violations of the right of private judgment in matters of religion. They are impudent outrages on common sense, in arrogating a power of controlling the devotional operations of the mind, and external acts of divine homage, not cognizable by any human tribunal—and for which, we are accountable only to the great Searcher of hearts, whose prerogative it is to judge them.

In contrast with this spiritual tyranny, how beautiful appears our catholic constitution, in disclaiming all jurisdiction over the souls of men; and securing by a law, never to be repealed, the voluntary, unchecked moral suasion of every individual: and his own self-directed intercourse with the Father of spirits, either by devout retirement, or public worship, of his own election! How amiable the plan of entrenching, with the sanction of an ordinance, immutable and irrevocable, the sacred rights of conscience; and renouncing all discrimination between men, on account of their sentiments about the various modes of church government, or the different articles of their faith! For by the XVIIIth article of the constitution of this state, it is declared, “that no person shall ever in this colony be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God, in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor, under any pretence whatsoever, be compelled to attend any place of worship, contrary to his own faith and judgment; nor shall any person within this colony ever be obli-

ged to pay tithes, taxes or any other rates, for the purpose of building or repairing any church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately or voluntarily engaged himself to perform.” And by the XIXth article it is ordained, “that there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect, in this state, in preference to another; and that no protestant inhabitant of this state, shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but that all persons professing a belief in the faith of any protestant sect*, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government as thereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being members of either branch of the legislature; and shall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity, enjoyed by others their fellow subjects.” And by the XXIIId section, every member of the legislative-council and assembly, is obliged, previous to his taking his seat in council or assembly, to take an oath or affirmation, “not to assent to any law, vote, or proceeding, that shall annul, repeal, or alter any part or parts of either of those articles.”

From hence appears the incorrigible malignity of those ministerial emissaries, who endeavour to disaffect to our excellent constitution, the more unwary and credulous, by alarming their apprehensions, that their religious liberties are less secure under the present, than they were under the former, government.

January, 1778.

NOTE.

* *This clause falls far short of the divine spirit of toleration and benevolence that pervades other of the American constitutions. “Every protestant is eligible to any office of profit or trust.” Are protestants, then, the only capable or upright men in the state? Is not the Roman catholic hereby disqualified? Why so? Will not every argument in defence of his exclusion, tend to justify the intolerance and persecutions of Europe?—C.*

Observations on the constitution, proposed by the federal convention.

(Continued from page 428.)

LETTER VIII.

THE proposed confederation offers to us a system of diversified representation in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, as essentially necessary to the good government of an extensive republican empire. Every argument to recommend it, receives new force, by contemplating events, that must take place. The number of states in America will increase. If not united to the present, the consequences are evident. If united, it must be by a plan that will communicate equal liberty, and assure full protection to them. These ends can never be attained, but by a close combination of the several states.

It has been asserted, that a very extensive territory cannot be ruled by a government of republican form. What is meant by this position? Is it intended to abolish all ideas of connexion, and to precipitate us into the miseries of division, either as single states, or partial confederacies? To stupify us into despondence, that destruction may certainly seize us? The fancy of poets never feigned so dire a metamorphosis, as is now held up to us. The Aegis of their Minerva was only said to turn men into stones. This spell is to turn "a band of brethren," into a monster, preying upon itself, and preyed upon by all its enemies.

If hope is not to be abandoned, common sense teaches us to attempt the best means of preservation. This is all that men can do, and this they ought to do. Will it be said, that any kind of disunion, or a connexion tending to it, is preferable to a firm union? Or, is there any charm in that despotism, which is said to be alone competent to the rule of such an empire? There is no evidence of fact, nor any deduction of reason, that justifies the assertion. It is true, that extensive territory has in general been arbitrarily governed; and it is as true, that a number of republics, in such territory, loosely connected, must inevitably rot into despotism. Such territory has never been governed by a confederacy of republics. Granted.

But, where was there ever a confederacy of republics, in such territory, united, as these states are to be by the proposed constitution? Where was there ever a confederacy, in which the sovereignty of each state was equally represented in one legislative body, the people of each state equally represented in another, and the sovereignties and people of all the states conjointly represented in a third branch? Or, in which, no law could be made, but by the agreement of three such branches? Or, in which, the appointment to federal offices was vested in a chief magistrate, chosen as our president is to be, with the concurrence of a senate elected by the sovereignties of each state? Or, in which, the other acts of the executive department were regulated, as they are to be with us? Or, in which, the federal judges were to hold their offices independently and during good behaviour? Or, in which, the authority over the militia and troops was so distributed and controlled, as it is to be with us? Or, in which, the people were so drawn together by religion, blood, language, manners, and customs, undisturbed by former feuds or prejudices? Or, in which, the affairs relating to the whole union, were to be managed by an assembly of several representative bodies, invested with different powers, that became efficient only in concert, without their being embarrassed by attention to other business? Or, in which, a provision was made for the federal revenue, without recurring to coercion against states, the miserable expedient of other confederacies—an expedient always attended with odium, and often with a delay productive of irreparable damage? Where was there ever a confederacy, that thus adhered to the first principle of society, obliging by the direct authority of its laws, every individual, to contribute, when the public good necessarily required it, a just proportion of aid to the support of the commonwealth—protecting him without disturbing him in the discharge of the duties owing by him to the state of which he was an inhabitant—and at the same time, so amply, so anxiously provided, for bringing the interests, and even the wishes of every sovereignty and of every person of the union, under all their

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various modifications and impressions into their full operation and efficacy in the national councils? The instance never existed. The conclusion ought not to be made. It is without premises.

It has been said, that the varied representation of sovereignties and people in the legislature, was a mere compromise.

This is a great and dangerous mistake. The equal representation of each state in one branch of the legislature, was an original substantive proposition (as the writer is instructed) made in convention, very soon after the draft offered by Virginia, to which state united America is much indebted, not only in other respects, but for her merit in the origination and prosecution of this momentous business.

The proposition was expressly made upon this principle, that a territory of such extent as that of united America, could not be safely and advantageously governed, but by a combination of republics, each retaining all the rights of supreme sovereignty, excepting such as ought to be contributed to the union; that for the more secure preservation of these sovereignties, they ought to be represented in a body by themselves, and with equal suffrage; and that they would be annihilated, if both branches of the legislature were to be formed of representatives of the people, in proportion to the number of inhabitants in each state.

The principle appears to be well founded in reason. Why cannot a very extensive territory be ruled by a government of republican form? Because, its power must languish through distance of parts. Granted, if it be not a "body by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered, and knit together." If it be such a body, the objection is removed. Instead of such a perfect body, framed upon the principle that commands men to associate, and societies to confederate, that, which, by communicating and extending happiness, corresponds with the gracious intentions of our Maker towards us his creatures; what is proposed? Truly, that the natural legs and arms of this body should be cut off, because they are too weak, and their places supplied by stronger limbs of wood and iron.

VOL. IV. No. VI.

Arbitrary princes rule extensive territories, by sending viceroys to govern certain districts.

America is, and will be, divided into several sovereign states, each possessing every power proper for governing within its own limits, for its own purposes, and also for acting as a member of the union.

They will be civil and military stations, conveniently planted throughout the empire, with lively and regular communications. A stroke, a touch upon any part, will be immediately felt by the whole. Rome, famed for imperial arts, had a glimpse of this great truth; and endeavoured, as well as her hard-hearted policy would permit, to realize it in her colonies. They were miniatures of the capital; but wanted the vital principle of sovereignty, and were too small. They were melted down into, or overwhelmed by, the nations around them. Were they now existing, they might be called, curious *automata*, something like our living originals. These will bear a remarkable resemblance to the mild features of patriarchal government, in which each son ruled his own household, and, in other matters, the whole family was directed by the common ancestor.

Will a people thus happily situated, and respectively attached, as they naturally will be, with an ardour of affection to their own state, ever desire to exchange their condition, for subjection to an absolute ruler; or can they ever look but with veneration, or act but with deference to that union, that alone can, under providence, preserve them from such subjection?

Can any government be devised, that will be more suited to citizens, who wish for equal freedom and common prosperity? better calculated for preventing corruption of manners? for advancing the improvements that en-
dear or adorn life? or that can be more conformed to the nature, understanding, and best end of man? What harvests of happiness may grow, from the seeds of liberty, that are now sowing? The cultivation will, indeed, demand continual care, unceasing diligence, and frequent conflicts with difficulties. This too is consonant to the laws of our nature. As we pass through night into day, so do we

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through trouble into joy. Generally, the higher the prize, the deeper the suffering. We die into immortality. To object against the benefits offered to us by our Creator, by excepting to the terms annexed, is a crime, to be equalled only by its folly.

Delightful are the prospects that will open to the view of united America—her sons well prepared to defend their own happiness, and ready to relieve the misery of others—her fleets formidable, but only to the unjust—her revenue sufficient, yet unoppressive—her commerce affluent, without debasing—peace and plenty within her borders—and the glory, that arises from a proper use of power, encircling them.

Whatever regions may be destined for servitude, let us hope, that some portions of this land will be blessed with liberty; let us be convinced, that nothing short of such an union as has been proposed, can preserve the blessing; and therefore let us be resolved to adopt it.

As to alterations, a little experience will cast more light upon the subject, than a multitude of debates. Whatever qualities are possessed by those who object, they will have the candour to confess, that they will be encountered by opponents, not in any respect inferior, and yet differing from them in judgment, upon every point they have mentioned.

Such untired industry to serve their country did the delegates to the federal convention exert, that they not only laboured to form the best plan they could, but provided for making at any time, amendments on the authority of the people, without shaking the stability of the government. For this end, the congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by congress.

Thus, by a gradual progress, as has been done in England, we may from time to time introduce every improvement in our constitution, that shall be suitable to our situation. For this purpose, it may perhaps be advisable, for every state, as it sees occasion, to form with the utmost deliberation, drafts of alterations respectively required by them, and to enjoin their representatives, to employ every proper method to obtain a ratification.

In this way of proceeding, the undoubted sense of every state, collected in the coolest manner, not the sense of individuals, will be laid before the whole union in congress; and that body will be enabled, with the clearest light that can be afforded by every part of it, and with the least occasion of irritation, to compare and weigh the sentiments of all united America; forthwith to adopt such alterations as are recommended by general unanimity; by degrees to devise modes of conciliation upon contradictory propositions; and to give the revered advice of our common country, upon those, if any such there should be, that in her judgment are inadmissible, because they are incompatible with the happiness of these states.

It cannot be with reason apprehended, that congress will refuse to act upon any articles calculated to promote the common welfare, though they may be unwilling to act upon such as are designed to advance partial interests: but, whatever their sentiments may be, they must call a convention for proposing amendments, on applications of two-thirds of the legislatures of the several states.

May those good citizens, who have sometimes turned their thoughts towards a second convention be pleased to consider, that there are men who speak as they do, yet do not mean as they do. These borrow the sanction of their respected names, to conceal desperate designs. May they also consider, whether persisting in the suggested plan, in preference to the constitutional provision, may not kindle flames of jealousy and discord, which all their abilities and virtues can never extinguish.

FABIUS.

Philadelphia, April 29, 1788.

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LETTER IX.

WHEN the sentiments of some objectors, concerning the British constitution, are considered, it is surprising, that they should apprehend so much danger to united America, as, they say, will attend the ratification of the plan proposed to us, by the late federal convention.

These gentlemen will acknowledge, that Britain has sustained many internal convulsions, and many foreign wars, with a gradual advancement in freedom, power, and prosperity. They will acknowledge, that no nation has existed, that ever so perfectly united those distant extremes, private security of life, liberty, and property, with exertion of public force—so advantageously combined the various powers of militia, troops, and fleets—or so happily blended together arms, arts, commerce, and agriculture. From what spring has flowed this stream of happiness? The gentlemen will acknowledge, that these advantages are derived from a single democratical branch in her legislature. They will also acknowledge, that in this branch, called the house of commons, only one hundred and thirty one are members for counties; that nearly one half of the whole house is chosen by about five thousand seven hundred persons, mostly of no property; that fifty-six members are elected by about three hundred and seventy persons, and the rest in an enormous disproportion* to the numbers of inhabitants who ought to vote. †

Thus are all the millions of people in that kingdom, said to be represented in the house of commons.

Let the gentlemen be so good, on a subject so familiar to them, as to make a comparison between the British con-

NOTES.

* No member of parliament ought to be elected by fewer than the majority of 800, upon the most moderate calculation, according to doctor Price.

† By the constitution proposed to us, a majority of the house of representatives, and of the senate, makes a quorum to do business: but, if the writer is not mistaken, about a fourteenth part of the members of the house of commons, makes a quorum for that purpose.

stitution, and that proposed to us. Questions like these will then probably present themselves: is there more danger to our liberty, from such a president as we are to have, than to that of Britons, from an hereditary monarch, with a vast revenue—absolute in the erection and disposal of offices, and in the exercise of the whole executive power—in the command of the militia, fleets, and armies, and the direction of their operations—in the establishment of fairs and markets, the regulation of weights and measures, and coining of money—who can call parliaments with a breath, and dissolve them with a nod—who can, at his will, make war, peace, and treaties irrevocably binding the nation—and who can grant pardons and titles of nobility, as it pleases him? Is there more danger to us, from twenty-six senators, or double the number, than to Britons, from an hereditary aristocratic body, consisting of many hundreds, possessed of immense wealth in lands and money—strengthened by a host of dependents—and who, availing themselves of defects in the constitution, send many of these into the house of commons—who hold a third part of the legislative power in their own hands—and who form the highest court of judicature in the nation? Is there more danger to us, from a house of representatives, to be chosen by all the freemen of the union, every two years, than to Britons, from such a sort of representation as they have in the house of commons, the members of which, too, are chosen but every seven years? Is there more danger to us, from the intended federal officers, than to Britons, from such a monarch, aristocracy, and house of commons together? What bodies are there in Britain, vested with such capacities for enquiring into, checking, and regulating the conduct of national affairs, as our sovereign states? What proportion does the number of freeholders in Britain bear to the number of people? And what is the proportion in united America?

If any person, after considering such questions, shall say, there will be more danger to our freedom under the proposed plan, than to that of Britons under their constitution, he must mean, that Americans are, or will be, beyond all comparison infe-

rior to Britons in understanding and virtue; otherwise, with a constitution and government, every branch of which is so extremely popular, they certainly might guard their rights, at least as well, as Britons can guard theirs, under such political institutions as they have; unless, the person has some inclination to an opinion, that monarchy and aristocracy are favourable to the preservation of their rights. If he has, he cannot too soon recover himself. If ever monarchy or aristocracy appear in this country, it must be in the hideous forms of despotism.

What an infatuated, depraved people must Americans become, if, with such unequalled advantages, committed to their trust in a manner almost miraculous, they lose their liberty? Through a single organ of representation, in the legislature only, of the kingdom just mentioned, though that organ is diseased, such portions of popular sense and integrity, have been conveyed into the national council, as have purified other parts, and preserved the whole in its present state of healthfulness. To their own vigour and attention, therefore, is that people, under providence, indebted for the blessings they enjoy. They have held, and now hold the true balance in their government. While they retain their enlightened spirit, they will continue to hold it; and, if they regard what they owe to others, as well as what they owe to themselves, they will most, probably, continue to be happy.*

They know, that there are powers that cannot be expressly limited, without injury to themselves; and their magnanimity scorns any fear of such powers. This magnanimity taught Charles the first, that he was but a royal servant; and this magnanimity caused James the second's army, rais-

NOTE.

* If to the union of England, Wales and Scotland, one more generous nation be added, the representation in the house of commons be improved, and the prerogative of creating peers be regulated, there seems to be the highest probability, that the empire will be much strengthened and aggrandized.

ed, paid, and kept up by himself, to confound him with huzzas for liberty.

They ask not for compact, of which the national welfare, and, in some cases, its existence, may demand violations. They despise such dangerous provisions against danger.

They know, that all powers whatever, even those that, according to the forms of the constitution, are irresistible and absolute, of which there are very many, ought to be exercised for the public good; and that when they are used to the public detriment, they are unconstitutionally exerted.

This plain text, commented upon by their experienced intelligence, has led them safe through hazards of every kind; and they now are, what we see them. Upon the review, one is almost tempted to believe, that their insular situation, soil, climate, and some other circumstances, have compounded a peculiarity of temperance, uncommonly favourable to the union of reason and passion.

Certainly, 'tis very memorable, with what life, impartiality, and prudence, they have interposed on great occasions; have by their patriotic communications temporary soundness in their disordered representation; and have bid public consultations to cease. Two instances out of many may suffice. The excellent William the third was distressed by a house of commons. He dissolved the parliament, and appealed to the people. They relieved him. His successor, the present king, in the like distress, made the same appeal; and received equal relief.

Thus they have acted: but Americans, who have the same blood in their veins, have, it seems, very different heads and hearts. We shall be enslaved by a president, senators, and representatives, chosen by ourselves, and continually rotating within the period of time assigned for the continuance in office of members, in the house of commons? 'Tis strange; but, we are told, 'tis true. It may be so. As we have our all at stake, let us enquire, in what way this event is to be brought about. Is it to be before or after a general corruption of manners? If after, it is not worth attention. The loss of happiness then follows of course. If before, how is

it to be accomplished? Will a virtuous and sensible people choose villains or fools for their officers? Or, if they should choose men of wisdom and integrity, will these lose both or either, by taking their seats? If they should, will not their places be quickly supplied by another choice? Is the like derangement again, and again, and again, to be expected? Can any man believe, that such allorising phenomena are to be looked for? Was there ever an instance, where rulers, thus selected by the people from their own body, have, in the manner apprehended, outraged their own gender connections, and the interests, feelings, and sentiments of their affectionate and confiding countrymen? Is such a conduct more likely to prevail in this age of mankind, than in the darker periods that have preceded? Are men more disposed now than formerly, to prefer uncertainties to certainties, things perilous and infamous to those that are safe and honourable? Can all the mysteries of such iniquity, be so wonderfully managed by treacherous rulers, that none of their enlightened constituents, nor any of their honest associates, acting with them in public bodies, shall ever be able to discover the conspiracy, till at last it shall burst with destruction to the whole federal constitution? Is it not ten thousand times less probable, that such transaction will happen, than it is, that we shall be exposed to innumerable calamities, by rejecting the plan proposed, or even by delaying to accept it.

Let us consider our affairs in another light, and take counsel from those who cannot love us, any farther than we may be subservient to their views.

Not a monarch or sovereignty in Europe, can desire to see these states forced into one flourishing empire. Our difference of government, participation in commerce, improvement in policy, and magnitude of power, can be no favourite objects of their attention. Our ruin will be their gain—our fall, their rise—our shame, their triumph. Divided, they may distract, disturb, and destroy. United, their efforts will be warring against themselves into foam against a rock. May our national character be—an animated moderation, that seeks only its

own, and will not be satisfied with less.

To his beloved fellow-citizens of united America, the writer dedicates this imperfect testimony of his affection, with fervent prayers, for a perpetuity of freedom, virtue, piety, and felicity, to them and their posterity.

F A B I U S.

Philadelphia, May 1, 1788.

An account of a remarkable alteration of colour in a negro woman: in a letter to the rev. Mr. Alexander Williamson of Maryland, from Mr. James Bate, surgeon in that province, 1759.

Sir,

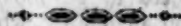
IN compliance with your desire, I send as particular an account of the extraordinary metamorphosis, observable in Colonel Barnes's negro woman, as I have been able to procure.

Frank, a cook-maid of the above-named gentleman, a native of Virginia, about forty years of age, remarkable healthy, of a strong and robust constitution, had her skin originally as dark as that of the most swarthy African; but, about fifteen years ago, it was observed, that the membrane, in the parts next adjoining to the finger-nails, became white; her mouth soon underwent the same change; and the phenomenon hath since continued, gradually, to extend itself over the whole body: so that every part of its surface is becoming, more or less, the subject of this surprising alteration. In her present state, her parts in five, of the skin, are white, smooth, and transparent, as in a fair European, elegantly showing the ramifications of the adjacent blood-vessels; the parts remaining forty, daily lose their blackness, and in some measure partake of the prevailing colour; so that a very few years will, in all probability, induce a total change. The neck, and back, along the course of the vertebrae, maintains their pious hue the most, and, in some spots, proclaim their original state: the head, face, and breast, with the belly, legs, arms, and thighs, are almost wholly white; the *pubenda* and *apilae*, parts coloured; the skin of these parts, as far as white, being covered with white hair;

where dark, with black. Her face and breast, as often as the passions of anger, shame, &c. had been excited in her, have been immediately observed to glow with blushes; as also, when, in pursuance of her business, she has been exposed to the action of the fire upon those parts, some freckles have made their appearance.

After having described her present appearance as well as I am able, I shall not pretend to offer any conjectures of my own upon the subject; lest, being led away by a train of reasoning, I should lose myself, in endeavouring to establish a favourite hypothesis; but, on the contrary, shall confine myself to a simple narration of such facts, as may prevent mistakes, or obviate difficulties, arising in the investigation of this difficult piece of physical history. And, in the first place, lest the change should be thought the consequence of a previous morbid state—the declares, that, excepting about seven years ago, when she was delivered of a child, she hath never been afflicted with any complaint of twenty four hours continuance: and that she never remembers the *catamenia* to have been either irregular or obstructed, only during this pregnancy: she has never been subject to any cutaneous disorders, or made use of any external applications, by which this phenomenon might be produced. The effects of the bile upon the skin are well known to physicians, and have given rise to an opinion, that its colour was determined thereby. For my own part, I cannot believe it has any thing to do here; since, from all the circumstances I have been able to collect, I cannot find the least reason to suspect, that this fluid, whether cystic or hepatic, has undergone any alteration. As ulcers is known to make the skin of negroes become white, and as she is daily employed in the business of cookery, it may perhaps be supposed the effect of heat: but this can never be the case, as she has ever been well clad; and the change is as obvious in the parts protected from the action of that element, as in those the most exposed thereto. As an emunctory, the skin seems to perform its office as well as possible; the sweat with the greatest freedom indifferently pervading the black and white parts. The effects of

a blister, I mentioned to you, I am yet a stranger to, as that which I applied upon the outside of the arm, did not answer the intended purpose. Whether this was owing to its being laid upon a part too much exposed, or that the *corpus reticulare* being destroyed, there may be such an adhesion of the cuticle to the *cutis*, as may render them inseparable, a second experiment must determine.



Observations on the cicada, or locust of America, which appears periodically once in 16 or 17 years. By Moses Bartram.

ON the 8th of June, 1766, I took several twigs of different kinds of trees, on which I then saw cicadas or locusts, darting, as it is called, to lay their eggs; of those twigs I put some in empty phials; some in phials, with a little water; and some I stuck in a pot of earth, which I kept moist, in order to preserve the twigs fresh.

July 21. the eggs in the twigs in the phial with water, hatched, as did those in the twigs in the pot of earth, soon after them; but the twigs in the empty phial being withered, the eggs perished; yet I have observed that on twigs accidentally broken off in the woods, if they lie near the ground in the shade, so as to be kept moist, the eggs in them will hatch in their due time; but in those that are exposed to the sun, they surely die.

The young locusts, that were hatched in the twigs in the phial, ran down the twigs to the water, on which they floated about four and twenty hours, and then died; those that were hatched in the twigs in the pot of earth, ran down the twigs immediately to the earth, and entered it at the first opening they could find, which they searched for eagerly, as if already sensible of danger, by being exposed to the light of the sun.

I have observed, that, in the natural way, the eggs are usually hatched in six weeks; but if, by the luxuriance of the growth of the shoots, into which the eggs are darted, the rind of the tree closes and confines them, they will in that situation remain several months, till by some lucky accident they are disengaged, and then they will hatch in a few minutes after, and seek their

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retreat in the earth, in the same manner as those hatched in the usual time. But many perish by being thus imprisoned.

Viewed through a microscope the moment they are hatched, they appear in every respect as perfect as at the time of their last transformation, when they rise out of the earth, put off their scaly covering, expand their wings, display their gaudy colours, dart forth their eggs, and after a few days existence, to fulfil the wise purposes of their Maker, close the period of their lives by an easy death. How astonishing, therefore, and inscrutable is the design of providence, in the production of this insect, that is brought into life, according to our apprehension, only to sink into the depths of the earth, there to remain in darkness, till the appointed time comes, when it ascends again into light by a wonderful resurrection! The means by which they are enabled to continue their species, is no less singular than their manner of existence. The females are furnished with a bearded dart, with which they pierce the tender shoots of all trees they happen to light upon, without regard to situation or species; many, therefore, perish by the quick growth of the trees into which the eggs are darted; and more, perhaps, by being laid in twigs that hang over streams or standing waters. The dart by which the operation is performed, consists of three parts; a middle, and two sides: The middle is hollow, through which the eggs are darted, and the two sides serve for a covering to defend it. These may easily be taken apart, by slipping the middle through the grooves of the two sides, and it is by slipping the two outside parts by each other rapidly, that they work a kind of slant hole in the soft twig they make choice of, till they reach the pith, and then they eject their eggs into it, to the number of twelve; when this is performed, they begin another hole close by the side of the former, and so continue to work, till they have carried along two rows, each row consisting of twelve or more holes. They then remove to another twig, and proceed as before; and so from twig to twig, till they have exhausted their store, after which they soon expire.

I have not yet been able to disco-

ver the full depth to which these little animals descend. Some, I have heard, have been found thirty feet deep. I myself have seen them ten.

They do not, however, seem to travel to any great distance horizontally; for they are seldom found far from the woods, unless in grounds that have been newly cleared. It often, however, happens, that in the long period of their torpid state, great tracts of country are cleared in North America from trees, and converted into arable or pasture; hence it is, no unusual thing to see them leave their cells in those plain grounds, and hasten to some adjoining fence to put off their incumbrance, and prepare themselves for flight. This they do always in the night, by crawling to some tree, along a fence, or among bushes or strong grass; and it is remarkable, that they differ in this from every other insect in its chrysalis state; for, instead of being wrapped up in a plain covering, which confines the inhabitant to a certain spot till it bursts, they have a covering fitted to their form, in which they can travel to a considerable distance; and which they cannot leave, till they find some solid substance, in which they fix their claws, and then, with an effort which requires the utmost exertion of their strength, they burst their case, which always opens from the shoulders to the forepart of the head, out of which they crawl, leaving it sticking fast behind. Thousands of these cases may be seen in a morning, sticking to all parts of trees, which being hardened in the sun, have a scaly-like substance, which not being flexible after it is dry, often so incumbers them, before they can put it off, that many perish in the attempt. For this reason, they always choose the night for this operation; and wait for the enlivening influence of the warm sun to strengthen and give consistence to their wings, which at first are white, soft, and moist, but soon assume a dark brown colour, with a firmness that enables them to fly, and a transparency that adds a beauty to their appearance, which before was wanting.

It is remarkable, that in every state of this insect's existence, it is eagerly pursued for food by others. In the very egg, it is the prey of ants and birds of every kind; in that of the

grub, by hogs, dogs, and all carnivorous animals that can unearth it; and in its most perfect state, not only by many kinds of beasts and birds, but even by men, many of the Indians, it is said, feeding sumptuously upon them.

Soon after they arrive at their last state of transformation, they seek mates to enable them to continue their species; and in this, too, they are very singular; the female, as has been observed, is furnished with a dart, the shaft of which, takes its rise below the middle of the insect; on the contrary, the male projects his dart from behind, and fixes it near the shaft of that of the female, where it remains for many hours together; during which time, they are not to be separated without laceration.

During the season of copulation, from sun-rise to sunset, the noise they make is so loud and perpetual, that little else can be heard in the woods where they abound; and it is doubtful, whether, during this season, or indeed during their whole time of existence in this state, they eat any thing, or subsist only by sipping the dew; for which purpose they seem to be furnished with a long tube, extending from their heads flat to their breast, and terminating between their legs, without the power of altering its position. Other than this tube, they seem to have none for the purpose of subsistence.

Account of an animal surviving the loss of all the small guts extracted from a letter to Peter Collinson, esq. from the rev. Jared Eliot, M. A. at Killingworth in Connecticut, New England, Sept. 14, 1762.

THE hon. Samuel Lynde, one of the council and a chief judge of the court, told me, that having sent for a man to spay a number of sow pigs, some time after this operation, one of the pigs creeping under a fence, by straining burst the stitches, and all the small guts issued out at the orifice, as big as a person's fist; the pig was lively, and ran about with its mates as though it felt no pain; but Mr. Lynde desired a person that happened to be present, to kill the pig, to prevent a lingering death, which he imagined must inevi-

tably be the case; this the man declined to do, but said that he would try an experiment: he took a sharp knife, and cut off all smooth, and applied a plaister of pitch to the wound; the pig ran about, and seemed otherwise well; the plaister soon fell off, and the pig dunged out at the orifice the operator had made, for a time, and then by the natural passage; and the wound healed up.

This swine, the whole time, seemed to be as well as the rest of the litter, grew as fast, and at killing time was as fat as any of the others. This was very strange, when so large a portion of the intestines was cut away. I told the gentleman that if I had known it at the season of slaughter, I would have travelled to his house (which was ten miles) to have seen how nature had provided, under such a mutilation for the preservation and support of that animal.

Useful hints for learning to swim. By Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D. F. R. S. In a letter to a friend.

Dear Sir,

I CANNOT be of opinion with you, that it is too late in life for you to learn to swim; the river near the bottom of your garden, affords a most convenient place for the purpose. And, as your new employment requires your being often on the water, of which you have such a dread, I think you would do well to make the trial; nothing being so likely to remove those apprehensions, as the consciousness of an ability to swim to the shore, in case of an accident, or of supporting yourself in the water, till a boat should come to take you up.

I do not know how far corks or bladders may be useful in learning to swim, having never seen much trial of them. Possibly they may be of service in supporting the body, while you are learning what is called the stroke, or that manner of drawing in and striking out the hands and feet, that is necessary to produce progressive motion. But you will be no swimmer till you can place some confidence in the power of the water to support you; I would therefore advise the acquiring that confidence in the first place, especially as I have known several, who, by a little of the

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practice necessary for that purpose, have insensibly acquired the stroke, taught as it were by nature.

The practice I mean is this; choosing a place where the water deepens gradually, walk coolly into it, till it is up to your breast, then turn round your face to the shore, and throw an egg into the water, between you and the shore; it will sink to the bottom; and be easily seen there, as your water is clear. It must lie in the water so deep, that you cannot reach it to take it up, but by diving. To encourage yourself, in order to do this, reflect that your progress will be from deeper to shallower water, and that, at any time, you may, by bringing your legs under you, and standing on the bottom, raise your head far above the water. Then plunge under it with your eyes open, throwing yourself towards the egg, and endeavouring, by the action of your hands and feet against the water, to get forward, till within reach of it. In this attempt, you will find that the water buoys you up against your inclination; that it is not so easy a thing to sink, as you imagined; that you cannot, but by active force, get down to the egg. Thus you feel the power of the water to support you, and learn to confide in that power; while your endeavours to overcome it, and to reach the egg, teach you the manner of acting on the water with your feet and hands; which action is afterwards used, in swimming, to support your head higher above water, or to go forward through it.

I would the more earnestly press you to the trial of this method, because, though I think I satisfied you, that your body is lighter than water, and that you might float in it a long time, with your mouth free for breathing, if you would put yourself in a proper posture, and would be still, and forbear struggling; yet, till you have obtained this experimental confidence in the water, I cannot depend on your having the necessary presence of mind, to recollect that posture, and the directions I gave you relating to it. The surprise may put all out of your mind. For, though we value ourselves on being reasonable, knowing creatures, reason and knowledge seem, on such occasions, to be of lit-

tle use to us; and the brutes, to whom we allow scarce a glimmering of either, appear to have the advantage of us.

I will, however, take this opportunity of repeating those particulars to you, which I mentioned in our last conversation; as, by perusing them at your leisure, you may possibly imprint them so in your memory, as, on occasion, to be of some use to you.

First, that, though the legs, arms, and head of a human body, being solid parts, are specifically somewhat heavier than fresh water, yet the trunk, particularly the upper part, from its hollowness, is so much lighter than water, that the whole of the body, taken together, is too light to sink wholly under water; but some part will remain above, until the lungs become filled with water; which happens from drawing water into them, instead of air, when a person, in the fright, attempts breathing, while the mouth and nostrils are under water.

2dly, That the legs and arms are specifically lighter than salt-water, and will be supported by it: so that a human body would not sink in salt-water, though the lungs were filled as above, but from the greater specific gravity of the head.

3dly, That, therefore, a person throwing himself on his back in salt-water, and extending his arms, may easily lie so as to keep his mouth and nostrils free for breathing; and, by a small motion of his hands, may prevent turning, if he should perceive any tendency to it.

4thly, That, in fresh water, if a man throws himself on his back, near the surface, he cannot long continue in that situation, but by a proper action of his hands on the water. If he uses no such action, the legs and lower part of the body will gradually sink, till he comes into an upright position, in which he will continue suspended, the hollow of the breast keeping the head uppermost.

5thly, But if in this erect position the head is kept upright above the shoulders, as when we stand on the ground, the immersion will, by the weight of that part of the head that is out of water, reach above the mouth and nostrils, perhaps a little above the

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eyes, so that a man cannot long remain suspended in water, with his head in that position.

6thly, The body continuing suspended as before, and upright, if the head be leaned quite back, so that the face looks upwards, all the back part of the head being then under water, and its weight consequently in a great measure supported by it, the face will remain above water quite free for breathing, will rise an inch higher, every inspiration, and sink as much every expiration, but never so low that the water may come over the mouth.

7thly, If therefore a person, unacquainted with swimming, and falling accidentally into the water, could have presence of mind sufficient to avoid struggling and plunging, and to let the body take this natural position, he might continue long safe from drowning, till perhaps help would come. For, as to the cloaths, their additional weight, while immersed, is very inconsiderable, the water supporting it; though, when he comes out of the water, he would find them very heavy indeed.

But, as I said before, I would not advise you, or any one, to depend on having this presence of mind, on such an occasion; but learn fairly to swim, as I wish all men were taught to do in their youth; they would, on many occurrences, be the safer for having that skill, and, on many more, the happier, as freer from painful apprehensions of danger, to say nothing of the enjoyment in so delightful and wholesome an exercise. Soldiers particularly should, methinks, all be taught to swim; it might be of frequent use, either in surprising an enemy, or saving themselves. And, if I now had boys to educate, I should prefer those schools (other things being equal) where an opportunity was afforded for acquiring so advantageous an art, which, once learned, is never forgotten.

I am, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

Method of preserving plants in their original shape and colours.

WASH a sufficient quantity of fine sand, so as perfectly to separate it from all other substances; dry it; pass it through a sieve, to clear it

from any gross particles, which would not rise in the washing; take an earthen vessel of a proper size and form, for every plant and flower which you intend to preserve; gather your plants and flowers, when they are in a state of perfection, and in dry weather, and always with a convenient portion of the stalk: heat a little of the dry sand prepared as above, and lay it in the bottom of the vessel, so as equally to cover it; lay the plant or flower upon it, so that no parts of it may touch the sides of the vessel: sift or shake in more of the same sand by little and little upon it, so that the leaves may be extended by degrees, and without injury, till the plant or flower is covered about two inches thick; put the vessel into a stove, or hot house, heated by little and little to the 50th degree; let it stand there a day or two, or perhaps more, according to the thickness and succulence of the flower or plant; then gently shake out the sand, upon a sheet of paper, and take out the plant, which you will find in all its beauty, the shape as elegant, and the colour as vivid as when it grew.

Some flowers require certain little operations to preserve the adherence of their petals, particularly the tulip—with respect to which, it is necessary, before it is buried in the sand, to cut the triangular fruit which rises in the middle of the flower; for the petal will then remain more firmly attached to the stalk.

A *hortus ficcus*, prepared in this manner, would be one of the most beautiful and useful curiosities that could be.

Method of staining wood in imitation of mahogany.

TAKE a piece of elm or of plane; stain it well with aqua fortis: then take two drams of powdered dragon's blood, one dram of powdered alkanet root, and half a dram of aloes: from these extract a tincture with half a pint of spirits of wine: with a sponge dip in this tincture, wash the wood two or three times, and you will give it the color of fine old mahogany.

But may not wood be more uniformly, and durably coloured, whilst growing?—It is a well known fact, that madder-roots give a permanent colour

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to the bones of animals, that feed on them. Now, as the tubes, by which trees derive their nourishment from the earth, are analogous to the mouths of animals, it is not unlikely that the curious naturalist, who will endeavour to convey colored juices into the bodies of trees through this channel, may have the pleasure of seeing his experiments attended with the desired success.



To change the colour of the auricula.

TAKE the root of this flower, at the beginning or the end of winter, when it is not in a state of vegetation; and, with a needle, pass through it several threads of silk, of whatever colour you please: put it in earth; and when the flower blows in the usual season, you will find the colour of the threads communicated to the leaves.



Letter from the society established in Paris, on the plan of those in England and America, to effect the abolition of the commerce and slavery of the negroes—

To the committee of the Pennsylvania society for the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage.

THE conformity of our designs has engaged us to inform you, that M. John Peter Brissot de Warville, who has hitherto been our secretary, and who, by his humane sentiments, talents, and indefatigable zeal, has principally contributed to the establishment and progress of our society, has undertaken a voyage to North America; that, in the course of his travels, he intends to collect all possible information on the situation of negroes in that part of the world; on the measures which are taken either to set them free, or to prevent the importation of them; on the real consequences of such measures, both in regard to the cultivation of lands, and the moral character of the negroes; and in general, on whatever may concern this unhappy but interesting part of the human species, and may be of service to dispose governments and individuals in their favour. And as the success of M. Brissot de War-

ville, in these enquiries, will principally depend on the assistance he has reason to expect from those who pursue the same object; we earnestly request you to aid him by all the means in your power, and to render him, both personally in consideration of his virtues, and the principles of universal benevolence and liberty so conspicuous in his works, and in regard to the object of his pursuit, all the services he may have occasion to desire from you: and we offer in return, the same services to all the persons that shall be recommended to us from your part.

We do also charge and authorise the said sieur Brissot de Warville, to take, in our behalf, in conjunction with you, all necessary measures for establishing between your society and ours a relation of brotherhood, and mutual correspondence, in which we hope you will not refuse to concur; and we desire you to place full and perfect confidence in whatever M. Brissot de Warville shall communicate on this subject from our part. In testimony of which we have affixed to this letter the seal of our society, and the signature of our president.

Paris, April 29, 1788.

E. CLAVIER, president.



Letter to the president, vice-president and committee of the Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, from the committee of the London society for promoting the abolition of the slave trade.

London, July 30, 1788.

Gentlemen,

CAPTAIN WILLET's departure affords us an early opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your favour of the 20th of May, enclosing a copy of the constitution of your society, and also copies of letters from the governors of New-Hampshire and Connecticut to your president. From many wise rules and regulations, adopted in the former, we perceive with satisfaction, that your body has acquired a stability, commensurate to the purposes of its institution; and from the latter, that the cause, in which you are engaged,

is countenanced in the governments alluded to, by the authority of laws, and the co-operation of powerful friends and patrons.

In return, you will rejoice to be informed, that many such friends and patrons are daily standing forth here, in behalf of the natives of Africa, whose peculiar wretchedness, long overlooked in the mass of human misery, seems at this time to excite a general attention.

Upwards of an hundred petitions having been presented to parliament, some soliciting, in unqualified terms, the abolition of a traffic so disgraceful to humanity, and others urging the duty of an immediate enquiry into its nature and circumstances, the house of commons pledged itself to take up the business early in the next sessions. Meanwhile, a bill, which hath for its object the more humane treatment of the negroes on their passage, hath been brought in by a baronet of distinguished benevolence, and is since enacted into a law. Great opposition was given to this bill, in every stage of its progress. It was even asserted, that the proposed regulations would extend to the annihilation of the trade. On which occasion, a gentleman high in office, after repeating his former determination to reserve his opinion upon the general question, till it should come under the fair discussion of parliament, scrupled not to declare, in substance, that if the trade could not exist under the proposed regulations, humanity called for its extinction. Other members, not tied up by the reservation attached to responsibility, fearlessly avowed the principle, that arguments, drawn from policy, were nugatory, when contrasted with the rights of nature, and the maxims of the christian religion. For ourselves, we remained silent spectators of the passing of this bill, dreading, lest any interference on our part, towards the support of regulations in this commerce, should be construed into an admission of its principle. We are willing, however, to hope, that this mutilated act of mercy, being all that could be procured at this time, may produce some temporary benefit; and we have the satisfaction to assure you, that even the interested evidence, which was brought against the mea-

sure, tended to confirm the truth of those cruelties, which this is designed to obviate.

Notwithstanding these encouraging circumstances, we feel that we have many difficulties to encounter; but, as we in part foresaw, so we have been preparing to meet, them, by every exertion in our power. For this purpose, a body of authentic evidence has been accumulated, extending to various parts of this business, from which, we trust, it will appear, that sound policy and humanity call equally for the excision of this iniquitous traffic. The house of commons not admitting any parole testimony, we shall also be able to produce, at their bar, witnesses of much respectability and information. In the mean time, our adversaries in print have been answered by fair argument; and the public opinion, as far as we may be supposed to know it, does credit to the national humanity. On this point, we have only to observe further, that, whilst thus addressing the representatives of a commercial nation on an affair, in which its interests and its justice are inseparable, we cannot for a moment abandon the fundamental principle of our association—that no gains, however great, are to be put in competition with the essential rights of man; and that, as a nation is exalted by righteousness, so it is equally debased and debilitated by the revenues of injustice.

We have received and duly acknowledged an obliging letter from Mr. Dupont of Paris, enclosing him at the same time such tracts, as, we judged, might assist in forwarding the views of the society in France, and requesting the continuance of his communications.

The disinterested zeal, which, on this occasion—discovers itself in different countries, the exertions of confederated bodies in some, and of distinguished individuals in others—a state of peace, more general than the face of Europe usually exhibits—all seem to mark a peculiar designation in the times, which we cannot contemplate, without acknowledging the hand of providence, whose blessing may, without superstition, be hoped for, on an attempt to rescue a large

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The abolition of slavery in the West Indies, to which the last paragraph in your letter alludes, is an object, which the philanthropy of individuals may securely cherish. But as that event can only be effected by such gradual and temperate means as the different colonial assemblies may adopt, so it is entirely beyond the business of our society, the sole purpose of whose institution is the abolition of the African slave-trade. And this just representation of ourselves, and our views, we thought it our duty, not long since, to lay before the public, in answer to the often-repeated charge, that our endeavours went not only to abolition, but emancipation; an imputation of little consequence to us, individually considered, but big with mischief to the cause, in which we are engaged.

The report of our proceedings being in great forwardness, we shall transmit you copies, as soon as completed; and shall rejoice, on every occasion, in an interchange of sentiments and friendly offices.

The att. before alluded to, is now enclosed, together with what other publications have lately occurred.

Grenville Sharp, chairman.



Essay on negro slavery.

NUMBER II.

(Continued from page 417.)

UPON no better principle, do we plunder the coasts of Africa, and bring away its wretched inhabitants as slaves, than that, by which the greater fish swallows up the lesser. Superior power seems only to produce superior brutality; and that weakness and imbecility, which ought to engage our protection, and interest the feelings of social benevolence in behalf of the defenceless, seems only to provoke us to acts of illiberal outrage and unmanly violence.

The practice, which has been followed by the English nation, since the establishment of the slave trade—I mean that of stirring up the natives of Africa, against each other, with a view of purchasing the prisoners mutually taken in battle, must strike the

humane mind with sentiments of the deepest abhorrence, and confer on that people a reproach, as lasting as time itself. It is surprising, that the eastern world did not unite, to discourage a custom so diabolical in its tendency, and to exterminate a species of oppression, which humbles the dignity of all mankind. But this torpid inattention can only be accounted for, by adverting to the savage disposition of the times, which countenanced cruelties, unheard of at this enlightened period. That rudeness of demeanor, and brutality of manner, which had been introduced into Europe, by those swarms of barbarians, that overwhelmed it from the north, had hardly begun to dissipate before the enlivening sun of civilization, when this infernal practice first sprung up into existence. Before this distinguished era of refined barbarity, the sons of Africa were in possession of all the mild enjoyments of peace—all the pleasing delights of uninterrupted harmony—and all the diffusive blessings of profound tranquillity. Boundless must be the punishment, which an irritated providence will inflict on those, whose wanton cruelty has prompted them to destroy this fair arrangement of nature—this flowery prospect of human felicity! Engulphed in the dark abyss of never ending misery, they shall in bitterness atone for the stab thus given to human nature; and, in anguish unutterable, expiate crimes, for which nothing less than eternal sufferings can make adequate retribution!—Equally iniquitous is the practice of robbing that country of its inhabitants; and equally tremendous will be the punishment. The voice of injured thousands, who have been violently torn from their native country, and carried to distant and inhospitable climes—the bitter lamentations of the wretched, helpless female—the cruel, agonizing sensations of the husband, the father, and the friend—will ascend to the throne of Omnipotence, and, from the elevated heights of heaven, cause him, with the whole force of almighty vengeance, to hurl the guilty perpetrators of these inhuman deeds, down the steep precipice of inevitable ruin, into the bottomless gulph of final, irretrievable, and endless destruction!

Ye sons of America, forbear !— Consider the dire consequence, that will attend the prosecution of a practice, against which the all-powerful God of nature holds up his hands, and loudly proclaims, “desist !”

In the insolence of self-consequence, we are accustomed to esteem ourselves and the christian powers of Europe, the only civilized people on the globe ; the rest, without distinction, we presumptuously denominate barbarians. But, when the practices above-mentioned, come to be deliberately considered—when, added to these, we take a view of the proceedings of the English in the East Indies, under the direction of the late lord Clive, and remember what happened in the streets of Bengal and Calcutta—when we likewise reflect on our American mode of driving, butchering, and exterminating the poor, defenceless Indians, the native and lawful proprietors of the soil—we shall acknowledge, if we possess the smallest degree of candour, that the appellation of barbarian does not belong to them alone. While we continue those practices, the term christian will only be a burlesque expression, signifying no more, than that it ironically denominates the rudest set of barbarians, that ever disgraced the hands of their Creator. We have the precepts of the gospel for the government of our moral deportment, in violation of which, those outrageous wrongs are committed : but they have no such meliorating influence among them, and only adhere to the simple dictates of reason and natural religion, which they never violate.

Might not the inhabitants of Africa, with still greater justice on their side, than we have on ours, cross the Atlantic, seize our citizens, carry them into Africa, and make slaves of them, provided they were able to do it ? But should this be really the case, every corner of the globe would reverberate with the sound of African oppression ; so loud would be our complaint, and so “feeling our appeal” to the inhabitants of the world at large. We should represent them as a lawless, piratical set of unprincipled robbers, plunderers, and villains, who basely prostituted the superior power and information, which God had given them for worthy purposes, to the vilest of

all ends. We should not hesitate to say, that they made use of those advantages, only to infringe every dictate of justice ; to trample under foot every suggestion of principle, and to spurn, with contempt, every right of humanity.

The Algerines are reprobated, all the world over, for their unlawful depredations ; and stigmatized as pirates, for their unreasonable exactions from foreign nations. But, the Algerines are no greater pirates than the Americans ; nor are they a race more destructive to the happiness of mankind. The depredations of the latter on the coasts of Africa, and upon the innocent Indians’ territory, make the truth of this assertion manifest. The piratical depredations of the Algerines, appear to be a judgment from heaven upon the nations, to punish their perfidy and atrocious violations of justice ; and never did any people more justly merit the scourge, than the Americans, on whom it seems to fall with peculiar and reiterated violence. When they yoke our citizens to the plough, and compel them to labour in that degrading manner, they only retaliate on us for similar barbarities. For Algiers is a part of the same country, whose helpless inhabitants we are accustomed to carry away. But the English and Americans cautiously avoid engaging with a warlike people, whom they fear to attack in a manner so base and unworthy ; whilst the Algerines, more generous and courageous plunderers, are not afraid to make war on brave and well disciplined enemies, who are capable of making a gallant resistance.

Whoever examines into the condition of the slaves in America, will find them in a state of the most uncultivated rudeness. Not instructed in any kind of learning, they are grossly ignorant of all refinement, and have little else about them, belonging to the nature of civilized man, than the mere form. They are strangers to almost every idea, that doth not relate to their labour or their food ; and, though naturally possessed of strong sagacity, and lively parts, are, in all respects, in a state of the most deplorable brutality.—This is owing to the iron-hand of oppression, which ever crushes the bud of genius, and binds up in chains every expansion of the hu-

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man mind.—Such is their extreme ignorance, that they are utterly unacquainted with the laws of the world—the injunctions of religion—their own natural rights, and the forms, ceremonies and privileges of marriage, originally established by the Divinity. Accordingly they live in open violation of the precepts of christianity; and with as little formality or restriction as the brutes of the field, unite for the purpose of procreation. Yet, this in a civilized country, and a most enlightened period of the world! The resplendent glory of the gospel is at hand, to conduct us in safety through the labyrinths of life. Science hath grown up to maturity, and is discovered to possess not only all the properties of solidity and strength, but likewise every ornament of elegance, and every embellishment of fancy. Philosophy hath here attained the most exalted height of elevation; and the art of government hath received such refinements among us, as hath equally astonished our friends, our enemies, and ourselves. In fine, no annals are more brilliant than those of America; nor do any more luxuriantly abound with examples of exalted heroism, refined policy, and sympathetic humanity. Yet now the prospect begins to change; and all the splendor of this august assemblage, will soon be overcast by sudden and impenetrable clouds; and American greatness be obliterated and swallowed up, by one enormity. Slavery diffuses the gloom, and casts around us the deepest shade of approaching darkness. No longer shall the united states of America be famed for liberty. Oppression pervades their bowels; and while they exhibit a fair exterior to other parts of the world, they are nothing more than “painted sepulchres,” containing within them nought but rottenness and corruption.

Ye voluptuous, ye opulent and great, who hold in subjection such numbers of your fellow-creatures, and suffer these things to happen—beware! Reflect on the lamentable change, that may, at a future period, take place against you. Arraigned before the almighty Sovereign of the universe, how will you answer the charge of such complicated enormity? The presence of those slaves, who have been lost,

for want of your instruction, and by means of your oppression, shall make you dart deeper into the flames, to avoid their just reproaches, and seek out for an asylum, in the hidden corners of perdition!

Many persons of opulence in Virginia, and the Carolinas, treat their unhappy slaves with every circumstance of the coolest neglect, and the most deliberate indifference. Surrounded with a numerous train of servants, to contribute to their personal ease, and wallowing in all the luxurious plenitude of riches, they neglect the wretched source, whence they draw this profusion. Many of their negroes, on distant estates, are left to the entire management of inhuman overseers, where they suffer for the want of that very sustenance, which, at the proprietor's seat of residence, is wastefully given to the dogs. It frequently happens, on those large estates, that they are not clothed, 'till the winter is nearly expired; and then, the most valuable only are attended to; the young, and the labour-worn, having no other allowance, in this respect, than the tattered garments, thrown off by the more fortunate. A single peck of corn a week, or the like measure of rice, is the ordinary quantity of provision for a hard-working slave; to which a small quantity of meat is occasionally, tho' rarely, added. While those miserable degraded persons, thus scantily subsist, all the produce of their unwearyed toil, is taken away to satiate their rapacious master. He, devoted wretch! thoughtless of the sweat and toil with which his wearied, exhausted dependents procure what he extravagantly dissipates, not contented with the ordinary luxuries of life, is, perhaps, planning, at the time, some improvement on the voluptuous art.—Thus he sets up two carriages instead of one; maintains twenty servants, when a fourth part of that number are more than sufficient to discharge the business of personal attendance; makes every animal, proper for the purpose, bleed around him, in order to supply the gluttonous profusion of his table; and generously gives away what his slaves are pining for;—those very slaves, whose labour enables him to display this liberality!—No comment is necessary, to expose the peculiar

folly, ingratitude, and infamy of such execrable conduct.

But the custom of neglecting those slaves, who have been worn out in our service, is unhappily found to prevail, not only among the more opulent, but thro' the more extensive round of the middle and inferior ranks of life. No better reason can be given for this base inattention, than, that they are no longer able to contribute to our emolument. With singular dishonour, we forget the faithful instrument of past enjoyment, and when, by length of time, it becomes debilitated, it is, like a withered stalk, ungratefully thrown away.

Our slaves unquestionably have the strongest of all claims upon us, for protection and support; we having compelled them to involuntary servitude, and deprived them of every means of protecting or supporting themselves. The injustice of our conduct, and barbarity of our neglect, when this reflexion is allowed to predominate, become so glaringly conspicuous, as even to excite, against ourselves, the strongest emotions of detestation and abhorrence.

To whom are the wretched sons of Africa to apply for redress, if their cruel master treats them with unkindness? To whom can they resort for protection, if he is base enough to refuse it to them? The law is not their friend;—alas! too many statutes are enacted against them. The world is not their friend;—the iniquity is too general and extensive. No one who hath slaves of his own, will protect those of another, lest the practice should be retorted. Thus, when their masters abandon them, their situation is destitute and forlorn, and God is their only friend!

Let us imitate the conduct of a neighbouring state, and immediately take measures, at least, for the gradual abolition of slavery. Justice demands it of us, and we ought not to hesitate in obeying its inviolable mandates.—All the feelings of pity, compassion, affection, and benevolence—all the emotions of tenderness, humanity, philanthropy, and goodness—all the sentiments of mercy, probity, honour, and integrity, unite to solicit for their emancipation. Immortal will be the glory of accomplishing their liberation;

and eternal the disgrace of keeping them in chains.

But, if the state of Pennsylvania is to be applauded for her conduct, that of South-Carolina can never be too strongly execrated. The legislature of that state, at no very remote period, brought in a bill for prohibiting the use of letters to their slaves, and forbidding them the privilege of being taught to read!—This was a deliberate attempt to enslave the minds of those unfortunate objects, whose persons they already held in arbitrary subjection:—Detestable deviation from the becoming rectitude of man!

One more peculiarly distressing circumstance remains to be recounted, before I take my final leave of the subject.—In the ordinary course of the business of the country, the punishment of relations frequently happens on the same farm, and in view of each other:—The father often sees his beloved son—the son his venerable sire—the mother her much-loved daughter—the daughter her affectionate parent—the husband sees the wife of his bosom, and she the husband of her affection, cruelly bound up without delicacy or mercy, and punished with all the extremity of incensed rage, and all the rigour of unrelenting severity, whilst these unfortunate wretches dare not even interpose in each other's behalf. Let us reverse the case, and suppose it ours:—all is silent horror!

OTHELLO.

Maryland, May 23, 1788.



An act to prevent the slave trade, passed by the general assembly of the state of Connecticut, October, 1788.*

BE it enacted by the governor, council, and representatives in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same; that no citizen or inhabitant of this state, shall for himself, or any other person, either as master, factor, or supercargo, owner or hirer, in whole or in part, of

NOTE.

* For laws similar to this, passed by Virginia and Rhode-Island, see *American Museum*, vol. II. page 502.—for one passed by Massachusetts, see *Vol. III. page 86.*—C.

any vessel, directly or indirectly, import or transport, or buy or sell, or receive on board his or her vessel, with intent to cause to be imported or transported, any of the inhabitants of any country in Africa, as slaves or servants for term of years; upon penalty of fifty pounds for every person so received on board as aforesaid; and of five hundred pounds for every such vessel, employed in the importation or transportation aforesaid; to be recovered by action, bill, plaint, or information, the one half to the plaintiff, and the other half to the use of the state; and all insurance, which shall be made in this state, on any vessel fitted out, to the intent aforesaid, and employed as aforesaid, or on any slaves or servants shipped on board as aforesaid, for the purpose aforesaid, shall be void, and this act may be given in evidence, under the general issue, in any suit commenced for the recovery of such insurance.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person shall kidnap, decoy, or forcibly carry off out of this state, any free negro, Indian, mulatto, or any person entitled to freedom at the age of twenty-five years, inhabitant or resident within this state, or shall be aiding or assisting therein, and be thereof duly convicted, he shall forfeit one hundred pounds to the use of this state, to be recovered by bill, plaint, or information, presented by any friend of such inhabitant or resident, which he is hereby authorized to do; and the court before whom the trial shall be, shall, in addition to said penalty, on conviction, give to the prosecutor, for the use of such injured inhabitant, or his family, if any he have, such sum in damages, as they shall judge just and reasonable, to be applied in such way and manner, as the court shall direct; and the said prosecutor shall give bond with surety, before the court, for the due application of the sums recovered, before he has execution thereof. Provided that nothing in this act shall operate to prevent persons, removing out of this state, for the purpose of residence, from carrying or transporting with them, such negroes or mulattoes, as belong to them, or to prevent persons, living within this state, from directing their servants

out of this state, about their ordinary and necessary business.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the owner, master, or factor of each and every vessel clearing out for the coast of Africa, or suspected by any citizen of this state, to be intended for the slave trade in any part of the world, and the suspicion being declared to the naval officer, by such citizen on oath, and such information being to the satisfaction of such naval officer, shall first give bond with sufficient sureties, to the treasurer of this state, in one thousand pounds, that none of the natives of Africa, or any other foreign country, shall be taken on board such ship or vessel, during her voyage, with intent to be transported as slaves, to any other part of the world.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all persons who now are, or hereafter shall be possessed of any child or children born after the first day of March, 1784, and which by law shall be free at the age of twenty-five years, shall, within six months from the rising of this assembly, or within six months after the birth of any such child, deliver or cause to be delivered to the town clerk of the town, where such possessor belongs, the name of such possessor, as also the age, name, and sex of every such child or children, on oath, to the best of his or her knowledge, under the penalty of forty shillings for each and every month's neglect, to be recovered before an assize or justice of the peace, the one half to the complainant, and the other half to the use of the poor of the town where such child or children live.



Three letters from an European traveller in America, to his friend in London—written in the year 1783.
(Continued from page 477.)

LETTER III.

SIR,
YOUR intimate acquaintance with sacred and profane history, has doubtless led you to observe, that nations have their characters as well as individuals: the criterion of distinction is perhaps no less visible in the one than in the other. In every nation

tion we may from time to time, observe, some distinguished individuals, who soar above the level of their fellow mortals; with nations themselves, the case is the same. One will sometimes take the lead of the rest in power, riches, and honour, yea, in every point of view that will serve to characterise a nation as great. This distinction is not accidental, but arises from their moral and political virtue: or, better to express my idea, their religion in this respect is their policy; it is the operating cause, except in those circumstances where God raises up a people for a temporary scourge, that they may fall in their turn, when this work is accomplished. The Jewish nation exemplifies the assertion: nor is the Assyrian monarchy less in favour of the exception. The different religions, that have been embraced by different nations, are not only an evidence of human depravity, but likewise a proof of the necessity of some religion, in every body politic. It was from this principle, that the king of the ten tribes, on their revolt from the house of David, erected his golden calves. He was sensible, that, if the religion of Judah was adopted in the new constitution he was forming, it would endanger his throne; and being equally sensible that some religion was necessary for the support of civil government, he established that of idolatry, though against the light of conscience and revelation. Civil laws, without the laws of religion, have little influence on the mind: it is the latter, which principally give energy to the former. The more enlightened heathens, convinced of this, had their priests, who inculcated into the minds of the people the doctrine of the soul's immortality, and a future state of retribution. They found this to be the best engine, in support of civil policy; and being either ignorant or unfriendly to revelation, their invention, from age to age, was employed on the subject, as a matter, in which national interest was nearly concerned. Nor did they fail in their design—their religion, bad as it was, rendered their laws more energetic, and gave them a more powerful influence over the people: hope and fear, the ruling passions of the mind, were constantly kept alive, and

being directed by their religion to a future world, had such a power over the community, as no civil laws could have done without it. The history of the Roman and Grecian republics, is a living example of this truth. But we, who are favoured with the gospel, and live in this enlightened age of the world, have no need to employ our invention on the subject—the work is done to our hands, and it is done by unerring wisdom: and, notwithstanding the object of this religion is far more sublime, than the mere support of civil government, yet from no quarter does civil government receive such assistance, as from this. Should we, even, like the deistical civilian, view it only in this point of light, as the engine of civil policy, yet in comparison with it, all the wisdom that the heathen sages ever employed on the subject, will appear but folly. For there is no moral system whatever, that gives such a spring to action as this, none, that so powerfully excites, directs, and governs the passions of the human mind; in this, an approaching retribution ceases to be conjecture; nor does the truth of it depend on the well connected arguments of the philosopher; but on the word of him, who is truth itself. The principles, which it inculcates, are of the purest kind, enforced by the strongest motives; nor does it enjoin or forbid any thing, but with a view to form both the ruler and the subject to their respective duties: to these they are mutually urged by the hope of future happiness, and the dread of future misery. This is connecting private happiness with the public good; and this, my friend, is the religion of the Saviour; there never was any artifice made use of by the wisest politician, that was so naturally calculated for the good of civil society: it is so on the principles of reason alone, were we to leave a superintending providence out of the question. If then some religion is necessary for every body politic; and if the christian religion (I mean as held by the protestants) is found to be the most consistent and salutary in its tendency; it is of the most interesting concern to a people, that this be laid as a foundation stone on which to build their constitution. I am far from enter-

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raising the idea, that the great end of religion is, to give energy to civil law, for this would be to subordinate the greater to the less. The design of civil government is to secure the lives, liberties, and properties of the subjects; and to aid and protect them, while passing through this world to a better. Certainly then the legislator, who makes civil government the ultimate object of religion, must invert the order; nor, upon his own principles, does he less mistake his policy, when he does not frame the constitution in favour and support of religion; since from this it derives its life and spirit. The American states, like a new married pair, are setting up for themselves in the world; their constitutions are formed or forming by their several legislatures; and, as it is of importance to the one, so is it to the other, that they set out right, and be agreed in the principles of religion: for sameness of religion has a natural tendency to strengthen the bond of union.

I am pleased to find that some of the states discover, in their constitutions, a sacred regard to religion; nor am I less displeased to find it neglected by others, even where I should have least imagined such a defect. The states of Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, have in effect severed it from their constitutions: their new code of laws neither support a public worship, nor that class of men who are ordained by heaven to wait at the altar; at least after those of the present generation, are gone off the stage. Surely they have forgotten the God, to whom they so lately appealed in their distress; otherwise they could not, in this public manner, have given up his worship, and withdrawn the civil support from that order of men appointed to sacred offices. Such policy as this will prove destructive to any state, into which it is admitted, and it will gradually root out a learned and able clergy, bring public worship not only into neglect, but contempt; hence immoralities of every kind will prevail, which, like a mortal consumption, will prey upon the seat of public life. I am no bigot to any particular persuasion: while I firmly adhere to my own, I allow myself neither to despise or ridicule that of another. I am therefore fond of

the general toleration, that is given in the states, to every denomination of christians, both upon the principle of sound policy, and the real spirit of christianity; for a man's mind is his kingdom, and if liberty be ever desirable, it is in the choice of that religion on which we rest our hopes of eternal salvation. But this is altogether different from parting with religion by wholesale: let every christian freely worship his Creator according to the dictates of his own conscience: for the civil community cannot flourish without such religious freedom. But where religion is wanting, the laws, like the parts of a distempered body, will cease to perform their office; and dissolution in the course of nature must follow. Could we, therefore, discard the idea of a future world from the subject, it would be of great advantage to the community to support the christian worship: for it preserves order—begets mutual love—and tends to breathe into every subject those principles of duty and morality, which are of the highest importance to the public weal. There is, says Solomon, that scattereth and yet increaseth; and there is, that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty. And never, perhaps, was this observation more strikingly exemplified than in the case before us. Experience will soon convince the above mentioned states, that they have mistaken their policy, and hit wide of the mark at which they aimed. However, I am less disposed to wonder at New Hampshire than Massachusetts in this matter, as it is natural to suppose that the latter, being older, larger, and more opulent, should influence the former in its politics, especially when we consider them bordering on each other. But this political evil I think easily accounted for, from that general corruption of manners introduced by the war. Boston, I have been ready to conceive from information, the happiest place in the world.

When their civil and religious order—their strict attention to the sabbath—and the solemn silence that reigned in their streets on holy times, have been mentioned to me—I have admired their character, and often wished to possess the happiness of being a

member of their community. But from personal acquaintance, I find this happy period gone—their civil and religious order, as is always the case, have fled together—their sabbaths are despised—and that God, whose name I mention with reverence, is profaned in their streets. I lament the apostacy, and sincerely pity the people rendered unhappy by their own folly. My former affection often urges me to believe, that their wisdom cannot overlook the cause of this unhappiness; and I should hence be induced to expect a reformation, was I not sensible how hard it is in this respect to recover lost ground. When vice is secured and bound by law, the rulers of a people cannot be too watchful and strict in keeping it confined; a little relaxation of the cord may appear trifling, and is often pleaded for as necessary, but, viewed in its tendency, it is a kind of high treason,—it is at least an indirect attempt upon the commonwealth;—in this way, vice by slow degrees, gets at helm, and the community, after many painful and perilous struggles, is often shipwrecked. I have observed, while passing through the state, that the legislative authority appears much better to fill its place than the executive. The laws are generally wholesome, and pointed with a manly spirit against whatever may threaten the good of the community: but the informing officers, and those entrusted with the execution of the laws, have, for such a course of time, been lax in their duty, that the zeal which the commonwealth demands of them, has in some respects become unpopular. This is a dangerous symptom,—if men cannot discharge their trust, without incurring the displeasure of their fellow-subjects, they will be apt either to turn their backs on the office, or indifferently do their duty when it is urged on them. It is much easier to compile than to execute the law:—men therefore of the greatest stability, and who are least tempted by the bait of popular applause, should be entrusted with the execution of the law. It is a common defect in civil policy, that too little attention is paid to the appointment of informing and executive officers; by these means, wholesome laws often fail of being execut-

ed; and this tends to bring both the law and legislature into contempt,—yea it enervates the whole political system. I have often thought it better for the community, to have a law, however salutary in its nature, wholly repealed, than to stand in force without execution. It will be pleaded, I am sensible, that it is a restraint on some; but, when we consider the mischief that it does to other laws, and the wound it gives to civil authority, I believe the disadvantage, here arising to the community, will be found to preponderate. I am likewise led to conceive, that informing and executive officers are no less criminal, for their deficiency in trust, than the open violators of law, who through their neglect pass with impunity. Men, who, in this manner, are set as sentinels to guard the commonwealth, are entrusted with a charge of the most weighty kind: their fidelity can scarcely be too much applauded, or their neglect too severely reprobated. Is not an assault upon a single life, a crime, that justly kindles our indignation against the inhuman perpetrator? How then can we feel cool towards the criminals, who, in this indirect way, threaten the political salvation of thousands? No brand of infamy deserves a deeper impression, than that, in which the public interest is concerned;—personal injuries we may forgive: but those which respect the public, we have not a right either to forgive or conceal—much less have those such a right, whose duty it is, to discover and avenge the wrong. The commonwealth is like a ship at sea, whose safety and success depend on the skill and fidelity of the managers: they may conduct her to the desired port, or run her upon some unfriendly shore: as wisdom and trust are requisite in the one case, so are they in the other.

America is now entered on the voyage, in which many nations have been shipwrecked: and, as her course is to be shaped and directed by her own skill, she cannot be too cautious, to whose hands the management is committed: nor can the managers have too great a sense of their trust. I sensibly feel for the conscious and faithful, on whose shoulders the burden lies: nor do I less despise the

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Stupid wretch, who neglects his duty, and can trifle with concerns so interesting as those of the public weal.

In one sense, I have little to risk in this voyage; and, in another, perhaps no man ventures more than myself; for my happiness, with the common interest, is freighted on board; my love to the rising nation I have joined, forbids the enjoyment in this life, unless success attends it. O America, if I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning! if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not America above my chief joy.

I have now completed my tour through the states; for the most part, I have passed *incognito*, which has given me the best advantage for speculation; and those speculations I have spread before you, with that unreserved freedom peculiar to friendship: yea, I have expressed to you the exercise of my heart, with all the impartiality, of which I am master. In the leave I am now taking of my friend, you will doubtless wish to know, in what part of America a letter may hereafter find me. This choice of situation, you likely remember, I reserved for an after period, when I expected assistance from an acquaintance with the whole. My purpose, I confess, is different from what it then was: I find it impossible to take up my residence in any town, through which I have passed, without too great a connexion with those things, which to me fall among the disagreeables of the world. The bustle and confusion which attend a city life, are to me exceedingly irksome; and, to become a slave to the fashions of the town, and undertake their task of ceremonious flattery, in which my tongue was never skilled, would be no less disagreeable. I am therefore resolved on a rule of life of the most retired kind; in the western wilds of America, there is extent sufficient for my retreat: here, beyond the reach of fashion, or the corruption of taste, I mean to bring up my family, which, at present, have but an ideal existence. As those unlocated lands settle fast, I expect to travel far, in order to execute my design. I shall take with me a select number of friends, in

the collection of whom I use the gravest pretension: though a small, yet we propose to go, in some respects, an organized body; for we have an able preacher of the gospel, and no less able instructor for our children, who are engaged in the adventure. Here, by the leave of providence, I propose to try, how far industry, connected with the greatest simplicity of habit and manners, will contribute to the happiness of life. Since I have been in the country, I have paid some attention to the art of farming; I have learned how to fell the timber, and have acquired the use of almost every instrument of husbandry: I have engaged the best seasons for sowing the seed, and the soil most suitable to each particular kind; and, as I expect to devote myself to this agreeable employ, I hope, by experience, with what little philosophy I am master of, to become a tolerable proficient. Should you reject my plan, as discovering a want of benevolence, and think me fleeing from those necessary burdens, in which I ought to share in common with my fellow citizens; I have only to observe, that I am no politician; and, therefore conceive that I should render very little service to the public, however much I might interest myself in its concerns. In the execution of this design, my prospect of doing good is so considerable, that, in my view of the matter, benevolence is much in my favour. The force of example, by theorising on the subject, I have conceived to be very great; but this experiment, I expect, will give the quantum, or shew how great it is. I have been told that a child, merely for the sake of experiment, has been brought up wholly secluded from every means of knowledge, and as much as possible from human society; but this would be to brutalize and not to humanize the mind. Our view is far different from any thing of this nature; for we carry with us the best means both of human and divine knowledge: our object is to avoid that corruption of taste and fashion, which distempers the political system, and preys upon the happiness of domestic life. And though we expect, that human depravity will accompany the adventure, yet we hope to escape those outward immoralities,

which, to the shame of rational nature, prevail in cities and towns. A very laudable attention to the education of youth, appears to be general through the states; but, after all the good which it promises, there is this evil which attends it—the child is so conversant with the popular taste, bad examples are so frequent before his eyes, that these necessarily become a part of his education. The latter we expect wholly to escape, while the former is carried to its highest perfection. From a family or community, bred up in this manner, I confess, I have the highest expectation; indeed the prospect, in almost every point of view, looks promising. I am sensible, that there are conveniencies, and (I may add) necessities of life, which our lands will not produce; to obtain which, we design to open a trade with the nearest market town: but, in the use of these, we shall be exceedingly frugal, as the distance of transportation will render them expensive. The trade is to be conducted only by those, who are the most attached to our simplicity, that the idea of foreign superfluities may for ever be withheld from our children; or, at least, to the time, when age and the force of education shall have fortified them against the temptation. As my disposition has undergone no material change, since I left London, you will not suspect this enterprise to arise from any sour, unsocial turn, which I have newly taken; for friendship and freedom I more and more admire, and at the same time, I am more and more convinced, that this lies within the circle of a few; and that an attempt to enlarge the limits, or indulge an intimacy with those who are unacquainted with the delicacy of friendship, would be an inlet to pain, rather than pleasure. My views, I am sure, are not ambitious: I do not seek the honour of founding an empire, or of having the little community which I have the honour to collect, hereafter in historic page, called by my name. The good of posterity, in connexion with my own happiness in life, are the objects of my present pursuit. Thus far, I confess my designs selfish in the matter, that my own comfort in the world is one motive of the enterprise; I trust, however, it is so far conforma-

ble to the laws of christianity, as not to be unworthy of one, who might better claim the honour of your friendship, than myself.

You will surely gratify me so far, as to fulfil your imagination, for a moment, to accompany my retreat into these western wilds. How happy, thus to retire from the confusions of the world, and, as it were, by one leap, to escape the most disagreeable circumstances, which every day occur in it! here neither ambition to fill the seats of the great, nor fear of being displaced from offices of honour and profit, can disturb the mind; industry, the companion of virtue and happiness, will be our dependence. Methinks I can already see those stately pines falling before us, the green herbage smiling around us, and the wilderness, by the art of agriculture, blossoming as the rose. Methinks I hear the lowing of the ox and the bleating of the sheep, where beasts, untamed from the beginning, have held possession; and from this rural retired scene, I anticipate great satisfaction. You will not object to the distance of my retreat, if you have properly philosophised on the matter; for the spot of earth, on which we settle, simply considered, is no way essential: the attendant properties are what most contribute to the happiness of life. Though I am not so high the meridian of London, Boston, or Philadelphia, yet I shall be as high to Him who is the source of happiness, as the inhabitants of any of those places. Nor shall my body be more likely to be lost, when mixed with the dust of that western clime, than if lodged with the crowned heads in Westminster abbey: I shall hear, as soon as they, the voice of Gabriel's trump; my flight shall be as rapid, and my journey as short as theirs, to the final seat of trial. I cannot, therefore, from the most candid examination of the matter, find any rational objection to the plan: the greatest misfortune, which I at present feel, is a separation from my friend: this sinks my spirits, which would be otherwise high; and in this exercise of mind, I close my correspondence, till it shall be opened anew from the American Canaan, to which I am travelling.

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Bite of a red snake.

MR. William Baker's family, at this place, living near Billing's Pond, were last evening suddenly surprised by a red snake, which had entered the house, and made its first appearance in a coil, in the chimney corner. Mr. Baker's wife supposing it to be only a house snake of a prodigious size, had the courage to seize it with the tongs, in order to destroy it in the fire; but the snake was so strong, that he made his escape, and took shelter behind the back-log, until the heat drove him from thence; when, in an active manner, he advanced into the middle of the room, and then took shelter under a kettle just taken from the fire, containing their children's supper. Mrs. Baker then made an attempt to catch the snake in her hands, with a cloth; but, upon her advancing near him, he suddenly sprang forth, and bit her right hand in three places. The snake, after doing this execution, again advanced into the room, upon which Mr. Baker gave him a kick with his bare foot, and struck him into the fire; but the snake returned immediately into the room; on which Mrs. Baker's sister seized him with the tongs, and held him under the fore-flick, until, by the operation of the fire, the snake grew more tame; then putting him out of the house, the woman bruised the serpent's head. The snake was upwards of three feet in length, and about the thickness of a common chair-post. It was about nine o'clock in the evening when Mrs. Baker was bitten; but the family, being ignorant that it was a poisonous serpent, neglected to seek for immediate relief. The manner, in which the poison operated, was as follows: Mrs. Baker, within ten minutes, grew very sick, and about midnight was taken with a vomiting, and began to swell, so that, within a short time, her arm became as big as a man's thigh; her breast also swelled considerably; and her flesh became spotted, in a manner resembling the colour of the snake. At length it was concluded, that it must have been a red snake, that had bitten her; a neighbour was called in to view the dead snake, and their supposition being found true, a physician was applied to; but, by this time, it was near day light. Mrs. Baker's si-

tuation at first appeared to be very dangerous; but, by the blessing of God, attending the skilfulness of the physician, she is now in a fair way of recovery. The reason, why the poison did not prove fatal, through their delay in seeking relief, is supposed to be owing to her being bitten through the cloth, which kept much of the poison from her hand. However, it is hoped Mrs. Baker's misfortune may prove a caution to others, not to play with a snake.

Stonington, Sept. 5, 1788.



Observations on the medicinal uses of cod-liver oil, in the chronic rheumatism, and other painful disorders.

By Thomas Percival, M. D. F. R. S. and S. A. member of the royal society of physicians at Paris, and of the medical societies of London and Edinburgh, &c.

THE multiplicity of articles which constitute the materia medica, has been a subject of complaint with some physicians: and though it is an evil of no great magnitude, it certainly requires correction and reformation. For it must be acknowledged, that many of these articles are known only by their names; and that others are so seldom prescribed, as scarcely to merit the places, which they retain in the official lists. The progressive accumulation, however, of inactive remedies, is not to be deemed an argument against, but an incitement to, the introduction of new ones, which are more efficacious. And, I trust, it will be doing some service to the healing art, to communicate to the public, a brief account of the *oleum jecoris aselli*, or cod-liver oil; the salutary properties of which, I believe, have been little experienced beyond the vicinage of Manchester.

This medicine is dispensed so largely in the hospital here, that near an hoghead of it is annually consumed. It is given in obstinate chronic rheumatism, sciaticas of long standing, and in those cases of premature decrepitude, which originate from immoderate labour, repeated strains and bruises, or exposures to continual dampness and cold: by which the muscles and tendons become too rigid, and the flex-

ibility of the joints is impaired, so as to crackle for want of due secretion of synovia. While I was one of the physicians to this charity, I had the fullest evidence of the successful exhibition of cod-liver oil, in various maladies of the class above described, which had resisted other powerful modes of treatment. And I frequently compared its operation with that of gum guaiacum, by prescribing each at the same time, to different patients in similar circumstances. These trials almost always terminated in favour of the oil; and the patients, who took guaiacum, by conferring with their fellow sufferers, were sometimes so sensible of making a slower progress towards a recovery, as to request a change of one remedy for the other.

At first it occasions, for the most part, an increase of pain; but this effect shortly ceases, and a gradual abatement of the symptoms succeeds. The pulse, in irritable habits, is sometimes accelerated by it; and a glow of warmth has been felt through the whole body, after each dose of the medicine. It is neither uniformly laxative, nor binding; but often promotes a gentle degree of perspiration. However, it proves successful, even when it produces no sensible operation, as generally happens in persons habituated to its use. In a few weeks, the appetite is impaired by it, the tongue grows foul, and an emetic is required. The dose of it varies from one table spoonful to three; and it may be administered twice, thrice, or four times daily. In many cases, it is found serviceable to rub the parts affected, with the oil, during the course of its internal exhibition. But this practice is only to be followed, when no great forenefs subsists. Indeed, either fever or inflammation forbids the use of it entirely.

Cod-liver oil is chiefly brought from Newfoundland. It forms a considerable article of merchandize, and comes in barrels from four hundred to five hundred lbs. in weight. The method of obtaining it is, by heaping together the livers of the fish, from which, by a gentle putrefaction, the oil flows very plentifully. A similar oil is procured from the livers of the fish called ling, and also from a small species of cod, found on the coast of Buchan,

in the north of Scotland. The taste is nauseous, and leaves upon the palate a flavour like that of tainted fish. On this account, it is not much prescribed here, in private practice, among the higher orders of people: but the hospital patients make no complaints of it; and such is their confidence in its efficacy, that they often solicit, as I before observed, to take it, and generally persevere with steadiness in the use of it. Indeed we know, that oil of the same kind forms no inconsiderable part of the food of the Laplanders, and other northern nations. For habit soon reconciles the taste to the most disgusting viands. The cod-liver oil may, however, be rendered much less offensive, by the following mode of administering it: take one ounce of cod-liver oil, forty drops of lye, and half an ounce of peppermint water for a draught. By this combination, a liquid soap, not very unpleasant, is produced, which may be readily decomposed by the addition of a tea-spoonful of the juice of lemons. And as the oil is probably most efficacious in its original form, it may be advisable to drink a cup of some acidulous liquor, immediately after the medicine has been swallowed. This will at once cleanse the mouth and gullet, neutralize the alkaline salt, and separate the oil in the stomach. Dr. Russel, in his natural history of Aleppo, has observed, that "in certain seasons, when oil is plentifully taken, the people there become disposed to fevers, and infractions of the lungs, which symptoms wear off by retrenching this indulgence." I have never seen or heard of any such effects, from the long continued use of the *oleum jecoris aselli*. Perhaps this diversity may partly depend on the different qualities of vegetable and fish-oil; the former having a tendency to obstruct, the latter to promote insensible perspiration. But, I apprehend, it is chiefly to be ascribed to the influence of climate. The intense heats of Turkey relax the animal fibres; and oil adds to this relaxation. But, under a northern sky, the fibres are too much disposed to rigidity: and when this actually subsists, as a malady, the emollient powers of oil are so far from being injurious, that they are highly salutary.

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Account of the rice bunting.

THE birds of this species inhabit in vast numbers, the island of Cuba, where they commit great ravages among the early crops of rice, which precede those of Carolina. As soon as the crops of Carolina are sufficiently ripe for their taste, they quit Cuba, and pass over the sea in numerous flights, directly north; and are very often heard, in their passage, by sailors frequenting that course. Their appearance is in September, while the rice is yet milky; and they commit such devastation, that forty acres of that grain have been totally ruined by them in a short time.

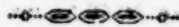
They arrive very lean; but soon grow so fat, as to fly with difficulty; and, when shot, often burst with the fall. They continue in Carolina not much above three weeks; and retire, by the time the rice begins to harden. They are esteemed to be the most delicate birds of the country. The male birds are said to have a fine note.

It is very singular, that, among the myriads, which pay their autumnal visit, there never is found a cock-bird. Mr. Catesby verified the fact by dissecting numbers, under a supposition, that there might have been the young of both sexes, which had not arrived at their full colours; but found them all to be females, which are properly the rice birds. Both sexes make a transient visit to Carolina in the spring. It is said that a few stragglers continue in the country the whole year.

Rice, the periodical food of these birds, is a grain of India. It probably arrived in Europe (where it has been much cultivated) by way of Bactria, Susia, Babylon, and the lower Syria. The time, in which it reached Italy, is uncertain; for the oryza of Pliny is a very different grain from the common rice; but the latter has been sown, with great success, about Verona, for ages past; and was imported from thence, and from Egypt, into England; until, by a mere accident, it was introduced into Carolina. It was first planted there about 1688, by sir Nathaniel Johnson, then governor of the province; but the seed being small and bad, the culture made little progress.

Vol. IV. No. VI.

Chance brought there, in 1696, a vessel from Madagascar; the maller of which presented a mr. Woodward with about half a bushel of an excellent kind; and from this small beginning sprung an immense source of wealth to the southern provinces of America; and, to Europe, relief from want in times of dearth. Within little more than a century, a hundred and twenty thousand barrels of rice have been, in one year, exported from South Carolina; and eighteen thousand from Georgia; and all from the remnant of a sea store, left in the bottom of a sack! Ought I not to retract the word "chance" and ascribe to Providence so mighty an event, from so small a cause?

*An account of the Free-Martin, by mr. John Hunter, F. R. S.*

HERMAPHRODITES in general, seem to be casual and anomalous productions, or *lusus naturae*; but in the bovine race, nature, for some reason best known to herself, in the mysterious process of generation, seems to follow a regular system in the production of an hermaphrodite. It seems, that if a cow bring forth twins that are both bull or cow-calves, each becomes respectively a perfect bull, or cow; but on the contrary, if a cow produce two calves, one of which is a bull calf, the other apparently a cow; though the bull calf becomes a perfect bull, the other calf is a kind of hermaphrodite, unfit for propagation. The animal at least is not known to breed; never shews the least inclination for the bull; nor does the bull ever take the least notice of it. This hermaphrodite is called the free-martin. It has the teats and external female parts of a cow: in other respects, it exhibits an equal mixture of both sexes; in which, (*—at least in three instances, described by the author,—*) the female is predominant. It resembles those imperfect or mutilated animals, the ox or spayed heifer, in form and other particulars. It is much larger than either the bull or cow; its horns are likewise larger, being similar to those of an ox: it also resembles the ox, in its bellow, or voice.

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Address of the agents for the American loyalists, to the king of Great-Britain.

Most gracious sovereign,

YOUR majesty's ever-dutiful and loyal subjects, the agents for the American loyalists, who have heretofore been the supplicants of your majesty on behalf of their distressed constituents, now humbly beg leave to approach your throne, to pour forth the ardent effusions of their grateful hearts, for your most gracious and effectual recommendation of their claims to the just and generous consideration of parliament.

To have devoted their fortunes, and hazarded their lives, in defence of the just rights of the crown, and the fundamental principles of the British constitution, was no more than their duty demanded of them, in common with your majesty's other subjects; but it was their peculiar fortune, to be called to the trial; and it is their boast and glory, to have been found equal to the task. They have now the distinguished happiness of seeing their fidelity approved by their sovereign, and recompensed by parliament; their fellow subjects cheerfully contributing to compensate them for the forfeitures which their attachment to Great-Britain incited them to incur; thereby adding dignity to their own exalted character, among the nations of the world; and holding out to mankind the glorious principles of justice, equity, and benevolence, as the firmest basis of empire.

We should be wanting in justice and gratitude, if we did not, upon this occasion, acknowledge the wisdom and liberality of the provisions proposed by your majesty's servants, conformable to your majesty's gracious intentions, for the relief and accommodation of the several classes of sufferers, to whose cases they apply; and we are convinced, it will give comfort to your royal breast, to be assured they have been received with the most general satisfaction.

Professions of the unalterable attachment of the loyalists, to your majesty's person and government, we conceive to be unnecessary; they have preserved it under persecution; and gratitude cannot render it less permanent. They do not presume to arro-

gate to themselves a more fervent loyalty, than their fellow subjects possess; but, distinguished, as they have been, by their sufferings, they deem themselves entitled to the foremost rank among the most zealous supporters of the constitution. And while they cease not to offer up their most earnest prayers to the divine being, to preserve your majesty, and your illustrious family, in the peaceful enjoyment of your just rights, and in the exercise of your royal virtues, in promoting the happiness of your people—they humbly beseech your majesty to continue to believe them, at all times, and upon all occasions, equally ready, as they have been, to devote their lives and properties to your majesty's service, and the preservation of the British constitution.

W. Pepperel, for the Massachusetts loyalists.

J. Wentworth, jun. for the New-Hampshire loyalists.

George Roine, for the Rhode-Island loyalists.

Ja. Delancy, for the New-York loyalists.

David Ogden, for the New-Jersey loyalists.

Joseph Galloway, for the Pennsylvania and Delaware loyalists.

Robert Alexander, for the Maryland loyalists.

John R. Grymes, for the Virginia loyalists.

Henry Eustace M'Culloh, for the N. Carolina loyalists.

James Simpton, for the S. Carolina loyalists.

William Knox, for the Georgia loyalists.

John Graham, late lieutenant-governor of Georgia, and joint agent for the Georgia loyalists.

London, July 2, 1783.



The Pennsylvania farmer's letters, By the hon. John Dickinson, esq.

(Continued from page 477.)

LETTER VIII.

My dear countrymen,

IN my opinion, a dangerous example is set, in the last act relating to these colonies. The power of parliament to levy money upon us, for rais-

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ing a revenue, is therein avowed and exerted. Regarding the act on this single principle, I must again repeat, and I think it my duty to repeat, that to me it appears to be unconstitutional.

No man, who considers the conduct of the parliament, since the repeal of the stamp act, and the disposition of many people at home, can doubt, that the chief object of attention there, is, (to use Mr. Grenville's expression,) "providing that the dependence and obedience of the colonies be asserted and maintained."

Under the influence of this notion, instantly on repealing the stamp act, an act passed, declaring the power of parliament to bind these colonies in all cases whatever. This however was only planting a barren tree, that cast a shade indeed over the colonies, but yielded no fruit. It being determined to enforce the authority, on which the stamp act was founded, the parliament having never renounced the right, as Mr. Pitt advised them to do—and it being thought proper to disguise that authority in such a manner, as not again to alarm the colonies—some little time was required to find a method, by which both these points should be united. At last the ingenuity of Mr. Grenville and his party accomplished the matter, as it was thought, in "an act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, for allowing drawbacks," &c. which is the title of the act laying duties on paper, &c.

The parliament having, several times before, imposed duties to be paid in America, it was expected, no doubt, that the repetition of such a measure would be passed over, as an usual thing. But to have done this, without expressly "asserting and maintaining" the power of parliament to take our money without our consent, and to apply it as they please, would not have been, in Mr. Grenville's opinion, sufficiently declarative of its supremacy, nor sufficiently depressive of American freedom.

Therefore it is, that in this memorable act, we find it expressly "provided," that money shall be levied upon us, without our consent, for purposes, that render it, if possible, more dreadful than the stamp-act.

That act, alarming as it was, declared, the money thereby to be raised, should be applied "towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America:" and it is evident, from the whole act, that, by the word "British," were intended colonies and plantations, settled by British people, and not generally those subject to the British crown. That act therefore seemed to have something gentle and kind in its intention, and to aim only at our own welfare; but the act now objected to, imposes duties upon the British colonies, "to defray the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing his majesty's dominions in America."

What a change of words! what an innumerable addition to the expenses, intended by the stamp-act! "His majesty's dominions" comprehend not only the British colonies, but also the conquered provinces of Canada and Florida, and the British garrisons of Nova-Scotia; for these do not deserve the name of colonies.

What justice is there in making us pay for "defending, protecting, and securing" these places? What benefit can we, or have we ever derived from them? None of them was conquered for us; nor will "be defended, protected, or secured" for us.

In fact, however advantageous the subduing or keeping any of these countries may be to Great-Britain, the acquisition is greatly injurious to these colonies. Our chief property consists in lands. These would have been of much greater value, if such prodigious additions had not been made to the British territories on this continent. The natural increase of our own people, if confined within the colonies, would have raised the value still higher and higher every fifteen or twenty years: besides, we should have lived more compactly together, and have been therefore more able to resist an enemy. But now the inhabitants will be thinly scattered over an immense region; as those who want settlements, will choose to make new ones, rather than pay great prices for old ones.

These are the consequences to the colonies, of the hearty assistance they gave to Great Britain in the late war—

a war undertaken solely for her own benefit. The objects of it were, the securing to herself the rich trafts of land on the back of these colonies, with the Indian trade; and Nova-Scotia, with the fishery. These and much more, has that kingdom gained; but the inferior animals, that hunted with the lion, have been amply rewarded for all the sweat and blood their loyalty cost them, by the honour of having sweated and bled in such company.

I will not go so far as to say, that Canada and Nova-Scotia are curbs on New-England; the chain of forts through the back woods, on the middle provinces; and Florida on the rest: but I will venture to say, that, if the products of Canada, Nova-Scotia, and Florida, deserve any consideration, the two first of them are only rivals of our northern colonies, and the other of our southern.

It has been said, that, without the conquest of these countries, the colonies could not have been "protected, defended, and secured." If that is true, it may, with as much propriety, be said, that Great-Britain could not have been "defended, protected, and secured," without that conquest: for the colonies are parts of her empire, which it as much concerns her, as them, to keep out of the hands of any other power.

But these colonies, when they were much weaker, defended themselves, before this conquest was made; and could again do it, against any that might properly be called their enemies. If France and Spain, indeed, should attack them, as members of the British empire, perhaps they might be distressed; but it would be in a British quarrel.

The largest account I have seen of the number of people in Canada, does not make them exceed ninety thousand. Florida can hardly be said to have any inhabitants. It is computed that there are in our colonies three millions. Our force, therefore, must increase with a disproportion to the growth of their strength, that would render us very safe.

This being the state of the case, I cannot think it just that these colonies, labouring under so many misfortunes, should be loaded with taxes, to main-

tain countries, not only not useful, but hurtful to them. The support of Canada and Florida costs yearly, it is said, half a million sterling. From hence, we may make some guess of the load that is to be laid upon us; for we are not only to "defend, protect, and secure" them, but also to make "an adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, in such provinces where it shall be found necessary."

Not one of the provinces of Canada, Nova-Scotia, or Florida, has ever defrayed these expenses within itself; and, if the duties, imposed by the last statute, are collected—all of them together, according to the best information I can procure, will not pay one quarter as much, as Pennsylvania alone. So that the British colonies are to be drained of the rewards of their labour, to cherish the scorching sands of Florida, and the icy rocks of Canada and Nova-Scotia, which never will return to us one farthing that we send to them.

Great Britain—I mean the ministry in Great Britain—has cantoned Canada and Florida out into five or six governments, and may form as many more. There now are fourteen or fifteen regiments on this continent; and there soon may be as many more. To make "an adequate provision" for all these expenses, is, no doubt, to be the inheritance of the colonies.

Can any man believe that the duties upon paper, &c. are the last, that will be laid for these purposes? It is in vain to hope, that, because it is imprudent to lay duties on the exportation of manufactures from a mother country to colonies, as it may promote manufactures among them, this consideration will prevent such a measure.

Ambitious and artful men have made it popular; and whatever injustice or destruction will attend it in the opinion of the colonists, at home it will be thought just and salutary.*

NOTE.

"So credulous, as well as obstinate, are the people in believing every thing, which flatters their prevailing passion,"—Hume's hist. of England.

The people of Great Britain will be told, and have been told, that they are sinking under an immense debt—that great part of this debt has been contracted in defending the colonies—that these are so ungrateful and undutiful, that they will not contribute one mite to its payment—nor even to the support of the army now kept up for their “defence and security”—that they are rolling in wealth, and are of so bold and republican a spirit, that they are aiming at independence—that the only way to retain them in “obedience,” is to keep a strict watch over them, and to draw off part of their riches in taxes—and that every burden laid upon them, is taking off so much from Great Britain. These assertions will be generally believed, and the people will be persuaded that they cannot be too angry with their colonies, as that anger will be profitable to themselves.

In truth, Great Britain alone receives any benefit from Canada, Nova Scotia and Florida; and therefore she alone ought to maintain them. The old maxim of the law is drawn from reason and justice, and never could be more properly applied, than in this case—

Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet et onus.

They who feel the benefit, ought to feel the burden.

LETTER IX.

My dear countrymen,

I HAVE made some observations on the purposes for which money is to be levied upon us by the late act of parliament. I shall now offer to your consideration some further reflexions on that subject: and, unless I am greatly mistaken, if these purposes are accomplished, according to the expressed intention of the act, they will be found effectually to supersede that authority in our respective assemblies, which is essential to liberty. The question is not, whether some branches shall be kept off. The axe is laid to the root of the tree; and the whole body must infallibly perish, if we remain idle spectators of the work.

No free people ever existed, or can ever exist, without keeping, to use a common, but strong expression, “the

purse strings,” in their own hands. Where this is the case, they have a constitutional check upon the administration, which may thereby be brought into order, without violence: but where such a power is not lodged in the people, oppression proceeds uncontrollable in its career, till the governed, transported into rage, seek redress in the midst of blood and confusion.

The elegant and ingenious Mr. Hume, speaking of the *Anglo-Norman* government, says—“princes and ministers were too ignorant, to be themselves sensible of the advantage attending an equitable administration, and there was no established council or assembly, which could protect the people, and, by withdrawing supplies, regularly and peaceably admonish the king of his duty, and insure the execution of the laws.”

Thus this great man, whose political reflexions are so much admired, makes this power one of the foundations of liberty.

The English history abounds with instances, proving that this is the proper and successful way to obtain redress of grievances. How often have kings and ministers endeavoured to throw off this legal curb upon them, by attempting to raise money by a variety of inventions, under pretence of law, without having recourse to parliament? And how often have they been brought to reason, and peaceably obliged to do justice, by the exertion of this constitutional authority of the people, vested in their representatives?

The inhabitants of these colonies have, on numberless occasions, reaped the benefit of this authority lodged in their assemblies.

It has been, for a long time, and now is, a constant instruction to all governors, to obtain a permanent support for the offices of government. But, as the author of “the administration of the colonies” says, “this order of the crown is generally, if not universally, rejected by the legislatures of the colonies.”

They perfectly know how much their grievances would be regarded, if they had no other method of engaging attention, than by complaining. Those who rule, are extremely apt to think well of the constructions made

by themselves in support of their own power. These are frequently erroneous, and pernicious to those they govern. Dry remonstrances, to shew that such constructions are wrong and oppressive, carry very little weight with them, in the opinions of persons who gratify their own inclinations in making these constructions. They cannot understand the reasoning that opposes their power and desires. But let it be made their interest to understand such reasoning—and a wonderful light is instantly thrown upon the matter; and then, rejected remonstrances become as clear as “proofs of holy writ.”

The three most important articles that our assemblies, or any legislatures can provide for, are, first—the defence of the society: secondly—the administration of justice: and thirdly—the support of civil government.

Nothing can properly regulate the expense of making provision for these occasions, but the necessities of the society; its abilities; the convenience of the modes of levying money in it; the manner in which the laws have been executed: and the conduct of the officers of government: all which are circumstances, that cannot possibly be properly known, but by the society itself: or if they should be known, will not probably be properly considered but by that society.

If money be raised upon us by others, without our consent, for our “defence,” those who are the judges in levying it, must also be the judges in applying it. Of consequence, the money said to be taken from us for our defence, may be employed to our injury. We may be* chained in by a

NOTE.

* That this design was then in contemplation with the government in Great-Britain, was, soon after the publication of these letters, demonstrated by the Canada bill, vesting the legislative power in the governor, and a few men, not less than seventeen, nor more than twenty-three, appointed by the crown; abolishing trial by jury; restoring the laws prior to the conquest; adding all the country on the back of the colonies, to Canada; and subjecting the whole to the same mili-

line of fortifications—obliged to pay for the building and maintaining them—and be told, that they are for our defence. With what face can we dispute the fact, after having granted that those who apply the money, had a right to levy it? For surely, it is much easier for their wisdom to understand how to apply it in the best manner, than how to levy it in the best manner. Besides, the right of levying is of infinitely more consequence, than that of applying. The people of England, who would burst out into fury, if the crown should attempt to levy money by its own authority, have always assigned to the crown the † application of money.

As to “the administration of justice”—the judges ought, in a well regulated state, to be equally independent of the executive and legislative

NOTE.

tary government; and by the tenor of all the subsequent measures. “*Specie tuendi finium, jugum liberis provinciis mediatatur.*” *Strada, lib. 2.*

† This word is sometimes used as synonymous with appropriation, though this last seems to be the fittest word to describe the designation of money for particular purposes, in acts of parliament; and this distinction is supported by the best authorities. Bishop Ellys, in his tracts on liberty, says, “The parliament, at present, in granting money, does, for the most part, appropriate it to particular services, whereby the application of it is more effectually secured.” “When any aids are given, the commons only do judge of the necessities of the crown, which cannot be otherwise made manifest to them, than by enquiring, how the money which hath been granted, and revenue of the crown, is expended and applied.”—Words of the commons at a conference with the lords. *Parl. Hist.*

“But of the aids given by parliament (which, by the law of England, are appropriated, and ought to have been employed in the common profit of the whole realm) many large sums of money, during the times of such heavy taxes upon the people, have been diverted.” Address of the house of commons to queen Anne. *Parl. Hist.*

powers. Thus in England, judges hold their commissions from the crown "during good behaviour," and have salaries, suitable to their dignity, settled on them by parliament. The purity of the courts of law, since this establishment, is a proof of the wisdom with which it was made.

But in these colonies, how fruitless has been every attempt to have judges appointed "during good behaviour?" Yet, whoever considers the matter will soon perceive, that such commissions are beyond all comparison more necessary in these colonies, than they were in England.

The chief danger to the subject there, arose from the arbitrary designs of the crown; but here, the time may come, when we may have to contend with the designs of the crown, and of a mighty kingdom. What then, must be our chance, when the laws of life and death are to be spoken by judges totally dependent on that crown, and that kingdom—sent over perhaps from thence—filled with British prejudices—and backed by a standing army—supported out of our own pockets, to "assert and maintain" our own "dependence and obedience."

But supposing that through the extreme lenity that will prevail in the government, through all future ages, these colonies will never behold any thing like the campaign of chief justice Jefferies, yet what innumerable acts of injustice may be committed, and how fatally may the principles of liberty be sapped, by a succession of judges, utterly independent of the people? Before such judges, the supple wretches, who cheerfully join in avowing sentiments inconsistent with freedom, will always meet with smiles; while the honest and brave men, who disdain to sacrifice their native land to their own advantage, but on every occasion boldly vindicate her cause, will constantly be regarded with frowns.

There are two other considerations relating to this head, that deserve the most serious attention.

By the late act, the officers of the customs are "empowered to enter into any house, warehouse, shop, cellar, or other place, in the British colonies or plantations in America, to search for or seize prohibited or un-

accustomed goods." &c. on "writs granted by the superior or supreme court of justice, having jurisdiction within such colony or plantation respectively."

If we only reflect, that the judges of these courts are to be during pleasure—that they are to have "adequate provision" made for them, which is to continue during their complaisant behaviour—that they may be strangers to these colonies—what an engine of oppression may this authority be in such hands?

I am well aware, that writs of this kind may be granted at home, under the seal of the court of exchequer: but I know, also, that the greatest assertors of the rights of Englishmen, have always strenuously contended, that such a power was dangerous to freedom, and expressly contrary to the common law, which ever regarded a man's house as his castle, or a place of perfect security.

If such power was in the least degree dangerous there, it must be utterly destructive to liberty here. For the people there have two securities against the undue exercise of this power by the crown, which are wanting with us, if the late act takes place. In the first place, if any injustice is done there, the person injured may bring his action against the offender, and have it tried before independent judges, who are * no parties in committing the injury. Here he must have it tried before dependent judges, being the men who granted the writ.

To say, that the cause is to be tried by a jury, can never reconcile men who have any idea of freedom, to such a power. For we know that sheriffs, in almost every colony on this continent, are totally dependent on the crown; and packing of juries has been frequently practised, even in the capital of the British empire. Even if juries are well inclined, we have too many instances of the influence of over-bearing, unjust judges upon them.

NOTE.

* The writs for searching houses in England, are to be granted "under the seal of the court of exchequer," according to the statute—and that seal is kept by the chancellor of the exchequer. 4th Inst. p. 104.

The brave and wise men, who accomplished the revolution, thought the independency of judges essential to freedom.

The other security which the people have at home, but which we shall want here, is this :

If this power is abused there, the parliament, the grand resource of the oppressed people, is ready to afford relief. Redress of grievances must precede grants of money. But what regard can we expect to have paid to our assemblies, when they will not hold even the puny privilege of some foreign parliaments—that of registering, before they are put in execution, the edicts that take away our money ?

The second consideration above hinted at, is this. There is a confusion in our laws, that is quite unknown in Great Britain. As this cannot be described in a more clear or exact manner, than has been done by the ingenious author of the history of New York, I beg leave to use his words. “The state of our laws opens a door to much controversy. The uncertainty, with respect to them, renders property precarious, and greatly exposes us to the arbitrary decision of bad judges. The common law of England is generally received, together with such statutes as were enacted before we had a legislature of our own ; but our courts exercise a sovereign authority, in determining what parts of the common and statute law ought to be extended : for it must be admitted, that the difference of circumstances necessarily requires us, in some cases, to reject the determination of both. In many instances, they have also extended even acts of parliament, passed since we had a distinct legislature, which is greatly adding to our confusion. The practice of our courts is no less uncertain than the law. Some of the English rules are adopted, others rejected. Two things, therefore, seem to be absolutely necessary for the public security. First, the passing an act for settling the extent of the English laws. Secondly, that the courts ordain a general set of rules for the regulation of the practice.”

How easy it will be, under this “state of our laws,” for an artful judge, to act in the most arbitrary

manner, and yet cover his conduct under specious pretences ; and how difficult it will be for the injured people to obtain relief, may be readily perceived. We may take a voyage of three thousand miles to complain ; and after the trouble and hazard we have undergone, we may be told, that the collection of the revenue, and maintenance of the prerogative, must not be discouraged—and if the misbehaviour is so gross as to admit of no justification, it may be said, that it was an error in judgment only, arising from the confusion of our laws, and the zeal of the king's servants to do their duty.

If the commissions of judges are during the pleasure of the crown, yet if their salaries are during the pleasure of the people, there will be some check upon their conduct. Few men will consent to draw on themselves the hatred and contempt of those among whom they live, for the empty honour of being judges. It is the sordid love of gain, that tempts men to turn their backs on virtue, and pay their homage where they ought not.

As to the third particular, “the support of civil government,”—few words will be sufficient. Every man of the least understanding must know, that the executive power may be exercised in a manner so disagreeable and harassing to the people, that it is absolutely requisite, that they should be enabled by the gentlest method which human policy has yet been ingenious enough to invent, that is, by shutting their hands, to “admonish,” as Mr. Hume says, certain persons “of their duty.”

What shall we now think, when, upon looking into the late act, we find the assemblies of these provinces thereby stripped of their authority on these several heads ? The declared intention of the act is, “that a revenue should be raised in his majesty's dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government in such provinces where it shall be found necessary, and towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions.”

Let the reader pause here one moment—and reflect—whether the colony in which he lives, has not made such “certain and adequate provision” for these purposes, as is by the colony judged suitable to its abilities, and all other circumstances. Then let him reflect—whether, if this act takes place, money is not to be raised on that colony without its consent, to make “provision” for these purposes, which it does not judge to be suitable to its abilities, and all other circumstances. Lastly, let him reflect—whether the people of that country are not in a state of the most abject slavery, whose property may be taken from them under the notion of right, when they have refused to give it.

For my part, I think I have good reason for vindicating the honour of the assemblies on this continent, by publicly asserting, that they have made as “certain and adequate provision” for the purposes above-mentioned, as they ought to have made, and that it should not be presumed, that they will not do it hereafter. Why, then, should these most important trusts be wrested out of their hands? Why should they not now be permitted to enjoy that authority, which they have exercised from the first settlement of these colonies? Why should they be scandalized by this innovation, when their respective provinces are now, and will be, for several years, labouring under loads of debt, imposed on them for the very purpose now spoken of? Why should all the inhabitants of these colonies be, with the utmost indignity, treated as a herd of despicable, stupid wretches, so utterly void of common sense, that they will not even make “adequate provision” for “the administration of justice, and the support of civil government” among them, or for their own “defence”—though, without such “provision,” every people must inevitably be overwhelmed with anarchy and destruction? Is it possible to form an idea of a slavery more complete, more miserable, more disgraceful, than that of a people, where justice is administered, government exercised, and a standing army maintained, at the expense of the people, and yet without the least dependence upon them? If we can find no relief from this infer-

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mous situation, it will be fortunate for us, if Mr. Grenville, setting his fertile fancy again at work, can, as by one exertion of it he has stript us of our property and liberty, by another deprive us of so much of our understanding, that, unconscious of what we have been or are, and ungoaded by tormenting reflexions, we may bow down our necks, with all the stupid serenity of servitude, to any drudgery, which our lords and masters shall please to command.

When the charges of the “administration of justice,” the “support of civil government,” and the expenses of “defending, protecting, and securing” us, are provided for, I should be glad to know, upon what occasions the crown will ever call our assemblies together. Some few of them may meet of their own accord, by virtue of their charters. But what will they have to do, when they are met? To what shadows will they be reduced? The men, whose deliberations heretofore had an influence on every matter relating to the liberty and happiness of themselves and their constituents, and whose authority, in domestic affairs at least, might well be compared to that of Roman senators, will now find their deliberations of no more consequence, than those of constables. They may, perhaps, be allowed to make laws for the yoking of hogs, or the pounding of stray cattle. Their influence will hardly be permitted to extend so high, as the keeping roads in repair, as that business may more properly be executed by those who receive the public cash.

One most memorable example in history is so applicable to the point now insisted on, that it will form a just conclusion of the observations that have been made.

Spain was once free. Their cortes resembled our parliaments. No money could be raised on the subject, without their consent. One of their kings having received a grant from them, to maintain a war against the Moors, desired, that if the sum which they had given, should not be sufficient, he might be allowed, for that emergency only, to raise more money without assembling the cortes. The request was violently opposed by

the best and wisest men in the assembly. It was, however, complied with by the votes of a majority; and this single concession was a precedent for other concessions of the like kind, until at last the crown obtained a general power of raising money, in cases of necessity. From that period the cortes ceased to be useful,—the people ceased to be free.

Venienti occurrere morbo.

Oppose a disease at its beginning.

LETTER X.

My dear countrymen,

THE consequences, mentioned in the last letter, will not be the utmost limits of our misery and infamy, if the late act is acknowledged to be binding upon us. We feel too sensibly, that any ministerial measures* relating to these colonies, are soon carried successfully through the parliament. Certain prejudices operate there so strongly against us, that it may be justly questioned, whether all the provinces united, will ever be able effectually to call to an account before the parliament, any minister who shall abuse the power by the late act given to the crown in America. He may divide the spoils torn from us in what manner he pleases, and we shall have no way of making him responsible. If he should order, that every governor shall have a yearly salary of 5000l. sterling; every chief justice of 3000l; every inferior officer in proportion; and should then reward the most profligate, ignorant, or needy dependents on himself or his friends; with places of the greatest trust, because they were of the greatest profit, this would be called an arrangement in consequence of the "adequate provision for defraying the

NOTE.

* "The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as minister, he asserted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house, which does not choose to contradict a minister. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative." Mr. Pitt's speech.

charge of the administration of justice, and the support of the civil government: and if the taxes should prove at any time insufficient to answer all the expenses of the numberless offices, which ministers may please to create, surely the members of the house of commons will be so "modest," as not to "contradict a minister" who shall tell them, it is become necessary to lay a new tax upon the colonies, for the laudable purpose of defraying the charges of the "administration of justice, and support of civil government," among them. Thus, in fact, we shall be † taxed by ministers. In short, it will be in their power to settle upon us any civil, ecclesiastical, or military establishment, which they choose.

We may perceive, by the example of Ireland, how eager ministers are to seize upon any settled revenue, and apply it in supporting their own power. Happy are the men, and happy the people, who grow wise by the misfortunes of others. Earnestly, my dear countrymen, do I beseech the Author of all good gifts, that you may grow wise in this manner; and if I may be allowed to take such a liberty, I beg leave to recommend to you in general, as the best method of attaining this wisdom, diligently to study the histories of other countries. You will there find all the arts, that can possibly be practised by cunning rulers, or false patriots among yourselves, so fully delineated, that,

NOTE.

† "Within this act (*statute de tallagio non concedendo*) are all new offices erected, with new fees; or old offices, with new fees; for that is a tallage put upon the subject, which cannot be done without common assent by act of parliament. And this doth notably appear by a petition to parliament, in anno 13 Henry IV. where the commons complain, that an office was erected for measuring of cloths and canvas, with a new fee for the same, by colour of the king's letters patent, and pray that these letters patent may be revoked, for that the king could erect no offices with new fees to be taken of the people, who may not so be charged, but by parliament." Second Inst. p. 533.

changing names, the account would serve for your own times.

It is pretty well known on this continent, that Ireland has, with a regular consistency of injustice, been cruelly treated by ministers in the article of pensions; but there are some alarming circumstances relating to that subject, which I wish to have better known among us.

* The revenue of the crown there arises principally from the excise, granted "for pay of the army, and

defraying other public charges, in defence and preservation of the kingdom"—from the tonnage and additional poundage, granted "for protecting the trade of the kingdom at sea, and augmenting the public revenue"—from the hearth-money, granted as a "public revenue, for public charges and expenses." There are some other branches of the revenue, concerning which there is not any express appropriation of them for service, but which were plainly intended.

Of these branches of the revenue, the crown is only trustee for the public. They are unalienable. They are inapplicable to any other purposes, but those for which they were established; and therefore are not legally chargeable with pensions.

There is another kind of revenue, which is a private revenue. This is not limited to any public uses; but the crown has the same property in it, that any person has in his estate. This does not amount, at the most, to fifteen thousand pounds a year, probably not to seven, and is the only revenue, that can be legally charged with pensions.

If ministers were accustomed to regard the rights or happiness of the people, the pensions in Ireland would not exceed the sum just mentioned: but long since have they exceeded that limit; and in December 1765, a motion was made in the house of commons in that kingdom, to address his majesty on the great increase of pensions on the Irish establishment, amounting to the sum of 158,685*l.*—in the last two years.

Attempts have been made to gloss over these gross encroachments, by this specious argument—"that expending a competent part of the public revenue in pensions, from a principle of charity or generosity, adds to

NOTE.

their ground; still deform a country abounding with all the riches of nature, yet hitherto destined to beggary—if such pensions be found on the Irish establishment; let such be cut off: and let the perfidious advisers be branded with indelible characters of public infamy; adequate, if possible, to the dishonour of their crime."

NOTE.

* An enquiry into the legality of pensions on the Irish establishment, by Alexander M'Aulay, esq. one of the king's council, &c.

Mr. M'Aulay concludes his piece in the following manner. "If any pensions have been obtained on that establishment, to serve the corrupt purposes of ambitious men—if his majesty's revenues of Ireland have been employed in pensions, to debauch his majesty's subjects of both kingdoms—if the treasure of Ireland has been expended in pensions, for corrupting men of that kingdom to betray their country; and men of the neighbouring kingdom to betray both—if Irish pensions have been procured, to support gamblers and gaming houses; promoting a vice which threatens national ruin—if pensions have been purloined out of the national treasure of Ireland, under the mask of salaries annexed to public offices, useless to the nation; newly invented, for the purposes of corruption—if Ireland, just beginning to recover from the devastations of massacre and rebellion, be obstructed in the progress of her cure, by swarms of pensionary vultures preying on her vitals—if, by squandering the national substance of Ireland, in a licentious, unbounded profusion of pensions, instead of employing it in nourishing and improving her infant agriculture, trade, and manufactures, or in enlightening and reforming her poor, ignorant, deluded, miserable natives (by nature most amiable, most valuable, most worthy of public attention)—if by such abuse of the national substance, sloth and idleness, cold and hunger, nakedness and wretchedness, popery, depopulation and barbarism, still maintain

the dignity of the crown, and is therefore useful to the public." To give this argument any weight, it must appear, that the pensions proceed from "charity or generosity only," and that it "adds to the dignity of the crown," to act directly contrary to law.

From this conduct towards Ireland, in open violation of law, we can easily foresee what we may expect, when a minister will have the whole revenue of America in his own hands, to be disposed of at his own pleasure: for all the monies raised by the late act, are to be "applied by virtue of warrants under the sign manual, countersigned by the high treasurer, or any three of the commissioners of the treasury." The "residue," indeed, is to be "paid into the receipt of the exchequer, and to be disposed of by parliament." So that a minister will have nothing to do, but to take care, that there shall be no "residue," and he is superior to all controul.

Besides the burden of pensions in Ireland, which have enormously increased within these few years, almost all the offices in that kingdom, have been, since the commencement of the present century, and now are, bestowed upon strangers. For, though the merit of persons born there, justly raises them to places of high trust when they go abroad, as all Europe can witness, yet he is an uncommonly lucky Irishman, who can get a good post in his native country.

When I consider the * manner in

NOTE.

* In Charles the second's time, the house of commons, influenced by some factious demagogues, were resolved to prohibit the importation of Irish cattle into England. Among other arguments in favour of Ireland, it was insisted—"that by cutting off almost entirely the trade between the kingdoms, all the natural bands of union were dissolved, and nothing remained to keep the Irish in their duty, but force and violence."

"The king," says Mr. Hume, in his history of England "was to convinced of the justness of these reasons, that he used all his interest to oppose the bill, and he openly declared, that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the com-

mons were resolute in their purpose."

And the spirit of tyranny, of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had animated the English extreme-ly to exert their superiority over their dependent state. No affair could be conducted with greater violence, than this by the commons. They even went so far in the preamble of the bill, as to declare the importation of Irish cattle to be a nuisance. By this expression, they gave scope to their passion, and at the same time barred the king's prerogative, by which he might think himself entitled to dispense with a law, so full of injustice and bad policy. The lords expunged the word, but as the king was sensible that no supply would be given by the commons, unless they were gratified in all their prejudices, he was obliged both to employ his interest with the peers, to make the bill pass, and to give the royal assent to it. He could not, however, forbear expressing his displeasure, at the jealousy entertained against him, and at the intention which the commons discovered, of retrenching his prerogative.

"This law brought great distress for some time upon Ireland, but it has occasioned their applying with greater industry to manufactures, and has proved in the issue beneficial to that kingdom."

Perhaps the same reason occasioned the "barring the king's prerogative" in the late act, suspending the legislation of New-York.

This we may be assured of, that we are as dear to his majesty, as the people of Great-Britain are. We are his subjects as well as they, and as faithful subjects; and his majesty has given too many, too constant proofs of his piety and virtue, for any man to think it possible, that such a prince can make any unjust distinction between such subjects. It makes no difference to his majesty, whether supplies are raised in Great-Britain, or America; but it makes some difference to the commons of that kingdom.

To speak plainly, as becomes an honest man, on such important occasions, all our misfortunes are owing to

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this pernicious peculiarity—of their parliament continuing as long as the crown pleases, I am astonished to observe such a love of liberty still animating that loyal and generous nation; and nothing can raise higher my idea of the integrity and public spirit of

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a lust of power in men of abilities and influence. This prompts them to seek popularity by expedients profitable to themselves, though ever so destructive to their country.

Such is the accursed nature of lawless ambition, and yet—what heart but melts at the thought!—such false, detestable patriots, in every state, have led their blind, confiding country, shouting their applauses, into the jaws of shame and ruin. May the wisdom and goodness of the people of Great-Britain, save them from the usual fate of nations!

-----“*mentem mortalia tangunt.*”

• The Irish parliament continued thirty-three years, during all the late king's reign. The present parliament there has continued from the beginning of this reign, and probably will continue till this reign ends.

† I am informed, that within these few years, a petition was presented to the house of commons, setting forth, “that herrings were imported into Ireland, from some foreign parts of the north, so cheap, as to discourage the British herring-fishery, and therefore praying that some remedy might be applied in that behalf, by parliament:”

That upon this petition, the house came to a resolution, to impose a duty of two shillings sterling, on every barrel of foreign herrings imported into Ireland; but afterwards dropped the affair, for fear of engaging in a dispute with Ireland, about the right of taxing her.

So much higher was the opinion, which the house entertained of the spirit of Ireland, than of that of these colonies.

I find, in the last English papers, that the resolution and firmness, with which the people of Ireland have lately asserted their freedom, have been so alarming in Great-Britain, that the lord lieutenant, in his speech on the 30th of October last, “recommended to that parliament, that such provision

a people, who have preserved the sacred fire of freedom from being extinguished, though the altar on which it burnt, has been overturned.

In the same manner shall we unquestionably be treated, as soon as the late taxes laid upon us, shall make posts in the “government,” and the “administration of justice” here, worth the attention of persons of influence in Great-Britain. We know enough already, to satisfy us of this truth. But this will not be the worst part of our case.

The principals, in all great offices, will reside in England, making some paltry allowance to deputies for doing the business here. Let any man consider what an exhausting drain this must be upon us, when ministers are possessed of the power of creating what posts they please, and of assigning to such posts what salaries they please, and he must be convinced how destructive the late act will be. The injured kingdom lately mentioned, can tell us the mischiefs of absenteeism; and we may perceive already, the same disposition taking place with us. The government of New-York has been exercised by a deputy. That of Virginia is now held so; and we know of a number of secretarships, collectorships, and other offices, held in the same manner.

True it is, that if the people of Great-Britain were not too much blinded, by the passions, that have been artfully excited in their breasts, against their dutiful children, the colonists—these considerations would be nearly as alarming to them as to us. The influence of the crown was thought by wise men, many years ago, too great, by reason of the multitude of pensions and places bestowed by it. These have been vastly increased since †;

NOTE.

may be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices and appointments, during their good behaviour, as shall be thought most expedient.”

What an important concession is thus obtained, by making demands becoming freemen, with a courage and perseverance becoming freemen!

† One of the reasons urged by that great and honest statesman, sir William Temple, to Charles the second,

and perhaps it would be no difficult matter, to prove, that the people have decreased.

Surely, therefore, those who wish the welfare of their country, ought seriously to reflect, what may be the consequence of such a new creation of offices, in the disposal of the crown. The army, the administration of justice, and the civil government here with such salaries as the crown shall please to annex, will extend ministerial influence as much beyond its former bounds, as the late war did the British dominions.

NOTE.

in his famous remonstrance, to dissuade him from aiming at arbitrary power, was, that the king "had few offices to bestow." Hume's hist. of England.

"Tho' the wings of prerogative have been clipped, the influence of the crown is greater, than ever it was, in any period of our history. For when we consider, in how many boroughs the government has the votes at command—when we consider the vast body of persons employed in the collection of the revenue, in every part of the kingdom, the inconceivable number of placemen, and candidates for places in the customs, in the excise, in the post-office, in the dock-yards, in the ordnance, in the salt-office, in the stamps, in the navy and victualling offices, and in a variety of other departments—when we consider again the extensive influence of the money corporations, subscription jobbers, and contractors, the endless dependencies created by the obligations conferred on the bulk of the gentlemen's families throughout the kingdom, who have relations preferred in our navy and numerous standing army—when, I say, we consider how wide, how binding a dependence on the crown is created by the above enumerated particulars, and the great, the enormous weight and influence, which the crown derives from this extensive dependence upon its favour and power—any lord in waiting, any lord of the bed-chamber, any man may be appointed minister."

A doctrine to this effect is said to have been the advice of L--- H---. Late news paper.

But, whatever the people of Great-Britain may think on this occasion, I hope the people of these colonies will unanimously join in this sentiment, that the late act of parliament is injurious to their liberty; and that this sentiment will unite them in a firm opposition to it, in the same manner, as the dread of the stamp-act did.

Some persons may imagine the sums to be raised by it, are but small; and therefore may be inclined to acquiesce under it. A conduct more dangerous to freedom, as has been before observed, can never be adopted. Nothing is wanted at home but a precedent, the force of which shall be established, by the tacit submission of the colonies. With what zeal was the statute, erecting the post office, and another, relating to the recovery of debts in America, urged and tortured, as precedents in support of the stamp-act, though wholly inapplicable. If the parliament succeeds in this attempt, other statutes will impose other duties. Instead of taxing ourselves, as we have been accustomed to do, from the first settlement of these provinces, all our usual taxes will be converted into parliamentary taxes on our importations; and thus the parliament will levy upon us such sums of money as they choose to take, without any other limitation, than their pleasure.

We know, how much labour and care have been bestowed by these colonies, in laying taxes in such a manner, that they should be most easy to the people, by being laid on the proper articles; most equal, by being proportioned to every man's circumstances; and cheapest, by the method directed for collecting them.

But parliamentary taxes will be laid

NOTE.

* "Here may be observed, that when any ancient law or custom of parliament is broken, and the crown possessed of a precedent, how difficult a thing it is to restore the subject again to his former freedom and safety." Second Coke's inst. p. 529.

"It is not almost credible to foresee, when any maxim or fundamental law of this realm is altered (as often where hath been observed) what dangerous inconveniences do follow." Fourth Coke's inst. p. 41.

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on us, without any consideration, whether there is any easier mode. The only point regarded, will be the certainty of levying the taxes, and not the convenience of the people, on whom they are to be levied; and therefore all statutes on this head will be such, as will be most likely, according to the favourite phrase, "to execute themselves."

Taxes in every free state have been, and ought to be, as exactly proportioned, as is possible, to the abilities of those who are to pay them. They cannot otherwise be just. Even a Hottentot would comprehend the unreasonableness of making a poor man pay as much for "defending" the property of a rich man, as the rich man pays himself.

Let any person look into the late act of parliament, and he will immediately perceive, that the immense estates of lord Fairfax, lord † Baltimore, and our proprietaries, which are amongst his majesty's other "dominions" to be "defended, protected, and secured" by the act, will not pay a single farthing of the duties thereby imposed, except lord Fairfax wants some of his windows glazed; lord Baltimore and our proprietaries are quite secure, as they live in England.

I mention these particular cases, as striking instances, how far the late act is a deviation from that principle of justice, which has so constantly distinguished our own laws on this continent, and ought to be regarded in all laws.

The third consideration with our continental assemblies in laying taxes, has been the method of collecting them. This has been done by a few officers, with moderate allowances, under the inspection of the respective assemblies. No more was raised from

the subject, than was used for the intended purposes. But by the late act, a minister may appoint as many officers as he pleases, for collecting the taxes; may assign them what salaries he thinks "adequate;" and they are subject to no inspection but his own.

In short, if the late act of parliament takes effect, these colonies must dwindle down into "common corporations," as their enemies, in the debates concerning the repeal of the stamp-act, strenuously insisted they were; and it seems not improbable, that some future historian may thus record our fall:

"The eighth year of this reign was distinguished by a very memorable event; the American colonies then submitting, for the first time, to be taxed by the British parliament. An attempt of this kind had been made about two years before, but was defeated by the vigorous exertions of the several provinces, in defence of their liberty. Their behaviour on that occasion rendered their name very celebrated, for a short time, all over Europe; all states being extremely attentive to a dispute between Great-Britain, and so considerable a part of her dominions. For as she was thought to be grown too powerful, by the successful conclusion of the late war she had been engaged in, it was hoped by many, that, as it had happened before to other kingdoms, civil discords would afford opportunities of revenging all the injuries supposed to be received from her. However, the cause of dissension was removed, by a repeal of the statute that had given offence. This affair rendered the submissive conduct of the colonies, so soon after, the more extraordinary; there being no difference between the mode of taxation which they opposed, and that to which they submitted, but this—that by the first, they were to be continually reminded that they were taxed, by certain marks, stamped on every piece of paper or parchment they used. The author of that statute triumphed greatly on this conduct of the colonies; and insisted, that, if the people of Great-Britain had persisted in enforcing it, the Americans would have been, in a few months, so fatigued with the efforts of

NOTE.

† Maryland and Pennsylvania have been engaged in the warmest disputes, in order to obtain an equal and just taxation of their proprietors' estates: but this late act of parliament does more for those proprietors, than they themselves would venture to demand. It totally exempts them from taxation, tho' their vast estates are to be "secured" by the taxes of other people.

patriotism, that they would have yielded obedience.

"Certain it is, that, tho' they had before their eyes for many illustrious examples in their mother country, of the constant success attending firmness and perseverance, in opposition to dangerous encroachments on liberty, yet they quietly gave up a point of the last importance. From thence the decline of their freedom began, and its decay was extremely rapid; for as money was always raised upon them by the parliament, their assemblies grew immediately useless, and in a short time contemptible: and in less than one hundred years, the people sunk down into that tameness and supineness of spirit, by which they still continue to be distinguished."

Et majores vestros et posteros cogitate.

Think of your ancestors and your posterity.



LETTER XI.

My dear countrymen,

I HAVE several times, in the course of these letters, mentioned the late act of parliament, as being the foundation of future measures injurious to these colonies: and the belief of this truth I wish to prevail, because I think it necessary to our safety.

A perpetual jealousy, respecting liberty, is absolutely requisite in all free states. The very texture of their constitution, in mixed governments, demands it. For the cautions, with which power is distributed among the several orders, imply, that each has that share which is proper for the general welfare, and therefore that any further acquisition must be pernicious.

* Machiavel employs a whole chapter in his discourses, to prove that a state, to be long-lived, must be frequently corrected, and reduced to its first principles. But of all states that have existed, there never was any, in which this jealousy could be more proper than in these colonies. For the government here is not only mixed, but dependent; which circum-

NOTE.

* Machiavel's discourses—Book 3, chap. 1.

stance occasions a peculiarity in its form, of a very delicate nature.

Two reasons induce me to desire, that this spirit of apprehension may be always kept up among us, in its utmost vigilance. The first is this—that as the happiness of these provinces indubitably consists in their connexion with Great-Britain, any separation between them is less likely to be occasioned by civil discords, if every disgusting measure is opposed singly, and while it is new: for in this manner of proceeding, every such measure is most likely to be rectified. On the other hand, oppressions and dissatisfactions being permitted to accumulate—if ever the governed throw off the load, they will do more. A people does not reform with moderation. The rights of the subject therefore cannot be too often considered, explained, or asserted: and whoever attempts to do this, shews himself, whatever may be the rash and peevish reflexions of pretended wisdom, and pretended duty, a friend to those who injudiciously exercise their power, as well as to them, over whom it is so exercised.

Had all the points of prerogative, claimed by Charles I. been separately contested and settled, in preceding reigns, his fate would in all probability have been very different; and the people would have been content with that liberty, which is compatible with regal authority. But † he thought it would be as dangerous for him to give up the powers, which at any time had been, by usurpation, exercised by the crown, as those that were legally vested in it. This produced an

NOTE.

† The author is sensible, that this is putting the gentlest construction on Charles's conduct; and that is one reason why he chooses it. Allowances ought to be made for the errors of those men, who are acknowledged to have been possessed of many virtues. The education of this unhappy prince, and his confidence in men not so good or wise as himself, had probably filled him with mistaken notions of his own authority, and of the consequences, that would attend concessions of any kind to a people, who were represented to him, as aiming at too much power.

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equal excess on the part of the people. For when their passions were excited by multiplied grievances, they thought it would be as dangerous for them to allow the powers that were legally vested in the crown, as those which at any time had been by usurpation exercised by it. Acts, that might by themselves have been upon many considerations excused or extenuated, derived a contagious malignancy and odium from other acts, with which they were connected. They were not regarded according to the simple force of each, but as parts of a system of oppression. Every one, therefore, however small in itself, became alarming, as an additional evidence of tyrannical designs. It was in vain for prudent and moderate men to insist, that there was no necessity to abolish royalty. Nothing less than the utter destruction of monarchy, could satisfy those who had suffered, and thought they had reason to believe, they always should suffer, under it.

The consequences of these mutual distrusts are well known: but there is no other people mentioned in history, that I recollect, who have been so constantly watchful of their liberty, and so successful in their struggles for it, as the English. This consideration leads me to the second reason, why I "desire that the spirit of apprehension may be always kept up among us in its utmost vigilance."

The first principles of government are to be looked for in human nature. Some of the best writers have asserted, that "government is founded on opinion.*"

NOTE.

* "Opinion is of two kinds, viz. opinion of interest, and opinion of right. By opinion of interest, I chiefly understand, the sense of the public advantage which is reaped from government; together with the persuasion, that the particular government which is established, is equally advantageous with any other, that could be easily settled.

"Right is of two kinds, right to power, and right to property. What prevalence opinion of the first kind has over mankind, may easily be un-

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Custom undoubtedly has a mighty force in producing opinion, and reigns in nothing more arbitrarily than in public affairs. It gradually reconciles us to objects even of dread and detestation; and I cannot but think these lines of Mr. Pope as applicable to vice in politics, as to vice in ethics—
"Vice is a monster of so horrid mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;

"Yet, seen too oft, familiar with her face,

"We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

When an act, injurious to freedom, has been once done, and the people bear it, the repetition of it is most likely to meet with submission. For, as the mischief of the one was found to be tolerable, they will hope that of the second will prove so too; and they will not regard the infamy of the last, because they are stained with that of the first.

Indeed nations, in general, are not apt to think, until they feel; and therefore nations in general have lost their liberty: for, as violations of the rights of the governed, are commonly not only † specious, but small at the beginning, they spread over the multitude in such a manner, as to touch individuals but slightly. ‡ Thus

NOTES.

derstood, by observing the attachment which all nations have to their ancient government, and even to those names which have had the sanction of antiquity. Antiquity always begets the opinion of right." "It is sufficiently understood, that the opinion of right to property, is of the greatest moment in all matters of government." Hume's essays.

† *Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt.* Sallust. Bell. Cat. l. 50.

‡ "The republic is always attacked with greater vigour, than it is defended. For the audacious and profligate, prompted by their natural enmity to it, are easily impelled to act by the least nod of their leaders: whereas the honest, I know not why, are generally slow and unwilling to stir; and neglecting always the beginnings of things, are never roused

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they are disregarded. The power or profit that arises from these violations, centering in few persons, is to them considerable. For this reason, the governors, having in view their particular purposes, successively preserve an uniformity of conduct for attaining them. They regularly increase the first injuries, till at length the inattentive people are compelled to perceive the heaviness of their burdens. They begin to complain and enquire—but too late. They find their oppressors so strengthened by success, and themselves so entangled in examples of express authority on the part of their rulers, and of tacit recognition on their own part, that they are quite confounded: for millions entertain no other idea of the legality of power, than that it is founded on the exercise of power. They voluntarily fasten their chains, by adopting a pusillanimous opinion, “that there will be too much danger in attempting a remedy,”—or another opinion no less fatal,—“that the government has a right to treat them as it does.” They then seek a wretched relief for their minds, by persuading themselves, that, to yield their obedience, is to discharge their duty. The deplorable poverty of spirit, that prostrates all the dignity bestowed by divine providence on our nature—of course succeeds.

From these reflexions I conclude, that every free state should incessantly watch, and instantly take alarm, on any addition being made to the power exercised over them. Innumerable instances might be produced to shew, from what slight beginnings the most extensive consequences have flowed:

NOTE.

to exert themselves, but by the last necessity: so that through irresolution and delay, when they would be glad to compound at last for their quiet, at the expense even of their honour, they commonly lose them both.” Cicero’s orat. for Sextius.

Such were the sentiments of this great and excellent man, whose vast abilities, and the calamities of his country during his time, enabled him, by mournful experience, to form a just judgment on the conduct of the friends and enemies of liberty.

but I shall select two only, from the history of England.

Henry VII. was the first monarch of that kingdom, who established a standing body of armed men. This was a band of fifty archers, called yeomen of the guard: and this institution, notwithstanding the smallness of the number, was, to prevent discontent, “disguised under pretence of majesty and grandeur †.” In 1684, the standing forces were so much augmented, that Rapin says—“The king, in order to make his people fully sensible of their new slavery, affected to muster his troops, which amounted to 4000 well armed and disciplined men.” I think our army, at this time, consists of more than seventy regiments.

The method of taxing by excise was first introduced amidst the convulsions of the civil wars. Extreme necessity was pretended for it, and its short continuance promised. After the restoration, an excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, was granted to the king, one half in fee, the other for life, as an equivalent for the court of wards. Upon James II.’s accession, the parliament ‡ gave him the first excise, with an additional duty on wine, tobacco, and some other things. Since the revolution, it has been extended to salt, candles, leather, hides, hops, soap, paper, paste-board, mill-boards, scale-boards, vellum, parchment, starch, silks, calicoes, linens, stuffs, printed, stained, &c. wire, wrought plate, coffee, tea, chocolate, &c.

Thus a standing army and excise have, from their first slender origins, tho’ always hated, always feared, always opposed, at length swelled up to their vast present bulk.

These facts are sufficient to support what I have said. ’Tis true, that all the mischiefs apprehended by our ancestors from a standing army and excise, have not yet happened: but it does not follow from thence, that they will not happen. The inside of a house may catch fire, and the most valuable apartments be ruined, before the flames burst out. The question is

NOTE.

† Rapin’s history of England.

* 12 Char. II. chap. 23 and 24.

‡ 1 James II. chap. 1 and 4.

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these cases is not, what evil has actually attended particular measures—but, what evil, in the nature of things, is likely to attend them. Certain circumstances may for some time delay effects, that were reasonably expected, and that must ensue. There was a long period, after the Romans had prorogued his command to *Q. Publius Philo*, before that example destroyed their liberty. All our kings, from the revolution to the present reign, have been foreigners. Their ministers generally continued but a short time in authority †; and they themselves were mild and virtuous princes.

A bold, ambitious prince, possessed of great abilities, firmly fixed in his throne by descent, served by ministers like himself, and rendered either venerable or terrible by the glory of his successes, may execute what his predecessors did not dare to attempt. Henry IV. tottered in his seat during his whole reign. Henry V. drew the strength of that kingdom into France, to carry on his wars there; and left the commons at home, protesting, “that the people were not bound to serve out of the realm.”

It is true, that a strong spirit of liberty subsists at present in Great-Britain; but what reliance is to be plac-

ed in the temper of a people, when the prince is possessed of an unconstitutional power, our own history can sufficiently inform us. When Charles II. had strengthened himself by the return of the garrison of Tangier, “England,” says Rapin “saw on a sudden an amazing revolution; saw herself stripped of all her rights and privileges, excepting such as the king should vouchsafe to grant her: and, what is more astonishing, the English themselves delivered up these very rights and privileges to Charles the second, which they had so passionately, and, if I may say it, furiously defended against the designs of Charles the first.” This happened only thirty-six years after this last prince had been beheaded.

Some persons are of opinion, that liberty is not violated, but by such open acts of force; but they seem to be greatly mistaken. I could mention a period within these forty years, when almost as great a change of disposition was produced by the secret measures of a long administration, as by Charles's violence. Liberty, perhaps, is never exposed to so much danger, as when the people believe there is the least; for it may be subverted, and yet they not think so.

Public disgusting acts are seldom practised by the ambitious, at the beginning of their designs. Such conduct silences and discourages the weak, and the wicked, who would otherwise have been their advocates or accomplices. It is of great consequence, to allow those, who, upon any account, are inclined to favour them, something specious to say in their defence. Their power may be fully established, though it would not be safe for them to do whatever they please. For there are things, which, at some times, even slaves will not bear. Julius Cæsar, and Oliver Cromwell, did not dare to assume the title of king. The grand signior dares not lay a new tax. Certain popular points may be left untouched, and yet freedom be extinguished. The commonalty of Venice imagine themselves free, because they are permitted to do what they ought not. But I quit a subject, that would lead me too far from my purpose.

By the late act of parliament, taxes

NOTES.

§ In the year of the city 428, “*Duo singularia hæc ei viro primum contingere—prorogatio imperii, non ante in alio facta, et, alio honore, triumphus.*” Liv. B. 8. chap. 26.

“Had the rest of the Roman citizens imitated the example of L. Quintus, who refused to have his consulship continued to him, they had never admitted that custom of proroguing of magistrates; and then the prolongation of their commands in the army had never been introduced, which very thing was at length the ruin of that commonwealth.” Machiavel's discourses, B. 3. chap. 24.

† I don't know but it may be said, that a good deal of reason, that a quick rotation of ministers is very desirable in Great-Britain. A minister there has a vast store of materials to work with. Long administrations are rather favourable to the reputation of a people abroad, than to their liberty.

are to be levied upon us, for "defraying the charge of the administration of justice—the support of civil government—and the expenses of defending his majesty's dominions in America."

If any man doubts what ought to be the conduct of these colonies on this occasion, I would ask him these questions :

Has not the parliament expressly avowed their intention of raising money from us for certain purposes ? Is not this scheme popular in Great-Britain ? Will the taxes, imposed by the late act, answer those purposes ? If they will, must they not take an immense sum from us ? If they will not, is it to be expected, that the parliament will not fully execute their intention, when it is pleasing at home, and not opposed here ? Must not this be done by imposing new taxes ? Will not every addition, thus made to our taxes, be an addition to the power of the British legislature, by increasing the number of officers employed in the collection ? Will not every additional tax, therefore, render it more difficult to abrogate any of them ? When a branch of revenue is once established, does it not appear to many people invidious and undutiful, to attempt to abolish it ? If taxes, sufficient to accomplish the intention of the parliament, are imposed by the parliament, what taxes will remain to be imposed by our assemblies ? If no material taxes remain to be imposed by them, what must become of them, and the people they represent ?

"If any person considers these things, and yet thinks our liberties are in no danger, I wonder at that person's security."

One other argument is to be added, which, by itself, I hope, will be sufficient to convince the most incredulous man on this continent, that the late act of parliament is only designed to be a precedent, whereon the future vassalage of these colonies may be established.

Every duty thereby laid on articles of British manufacture, is laid on some commodity, upon the exportation of

which from Great-Britain, a drawback is payable. Those drawbacks, in most of the articles, are exactly double the duties given by the late act. The parliament therefore might, in half a dozen lines, have raised much more money, only by stopping the drawbacks in the hands of the officers at home, on exportation to these colonies, than by this solemn imposition of taxes upon us, to be collected here. Probably, the artful contrivers of this act, formed it in this manner, in order to reserve to themselves, in case of any objection being made to it, this specious pretence—"that the drawbacks are gifts to the colonies, and that the late act only lessens those gifts." But the truth is, that the drawbacks are intended for the encouragement and promotion of British manufactures and commerce, and are allowed on exportation to any foreign parts, as well as on exportation to these provinces. Besides, care has been taken to slide into the act, some articles on which there are no drawbacks. However, the whole duties, laid by the late act on all the articles therein specified, are so small, that they will not amount to as much as the drawbacks which are allowed on part of them only. If, therefore, the sum to be obtained by the late act, had been the sole object in forming it, there would not have been any occasion for "the commons of Great-Britain, to give and grant to his majesty rates and duties for raising a revenue in his majesty's dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the expense of defending the said dominions ;"—nor would there have been any occasion for an expensive board

NOTE.

† The expense of this board, I am informed, is between four and five thousand pounds sterling a year. The establishment of officers, for collecting the revenue in America, amounted, before, to seven thousand six hundred pounds *per annum*; and yet, says the author of "the regulation of the colonies," "the whole remittance from all the taxes in the colonies, at an average of thirty years, has not

NOTE.

• Demosthenes's ad Philippic.

of commissioners, and all the other new charges to which we are made liable.

Upon the whole, for my part, I regard the late act as an experiment made of our disposition. It is a bird sent out over the waters, to discover, whether the waves, that lately agitated this part of the world with such violence, are yet subsided. If this adventurer gets footing here, we shall quickly find it to be of the * kind described by the poet—

"*Infelix rates.*"

A direful foreteller of future calamities.

LETTER XII.

My dear countrymen,

SOME states have lost their liberty by particular accidents: but this calamity is generally owing to the decay of virtue. A people is travelling fast to destruction, when individuals consider their interests as distinct from those of the public. Such notions are fatal to their country, and to themselves. Yet how many are there, so weak and sordid, as to think they perform all the offices of life, if they earnestly endeavour to increase their own wealth, power, and credit, without the least regard for the society, under the protection of which they live; who, if they can make an immediate profit to themselves, by lending

NOTE.

amounted to one thousand nine hundred pounds a year, and in that sum seven or eight hundred pounds *per annum* only, have been remitted from North-America."

The smallness of the revenue arising from the duties in America, demonstrates that they were intended only as regulations of trade: and can any person be so blind to truth, so dull of apprehension in a matter of unspeakable importance to his country, as to imagine, that the board of commissioners lately established at such a charge, is instituted to assist in collecting one thousand nine hundred pounds a year, or the trifling duties imposed by the late act? Surely every man on this continent will perceive, that they are established for the care of a new system of revenue, which is but now begun.

* "*Dira Calcas,*" &c. *Æneid* 3.

their assistance to those, whose projects plainly tend to the injury of their country, rejoice in their dexterity, and believe themselves entitled to the character of able politicians. Miserable men! of whom it is hard to say, whether they ought to be most the objects of pity or contempt: but whose opinions are certainly as detestable, as their practices are destructive.

Tho' I always reflect, with a high pleasure, on the integrity and understanding of my countrymen, which, joined with a pure and humble devotion to the great and gracious Author of every blessing they enjoy, will, I hope, insure to them, and their posterity, all temporal and eternal happiness; yet, when I consider, that in every age and country there have been bad men, my heart, at this threatening period, is so full of apprehension, as not to permit me to believe, but that there may be some on this continent, against whom you ought to be upon your guard—men, who either * hold, or

NOTE.

* It is not intended by these words, to throw any reflexion upon gentlemen, because they are possessed of offices: for many of them are certainly men of virtue, and lovers of their country. But supposed obligations of gratitude and honour, may induce them to be silent. Whether these obligations ought to be regarded or not, is not so much to be considered by others, in the judgment they form of these gentlemen, as whether they think they ought to be regarded. Perhaps, therefore, we shall act in the properest manner towards them, if we neither reproach nor imitate them. The persons meant in this letter, are the base-spirited wretches, who may endeavour to distinguish themselves, by their sordid zeal in defending and promoting measures, which they know, beyond all question, to be destructive to the just rights and true interests of their country. It is scarcely possible to speak of these men with any degree of patience—a is scarcely possible to speak of them with any degree of propriety; for no words can truly describe their guile and meanness—but every honest bosom, on their being mentioned, will feel what cannot be expressed.

expect to hold certain advantages, by setting examples of servility to their

NOTE.

If their wickedness did not blind them, they might perceive along the coast of these colonies, many men, remarkable instances of wrecked ambition, who, after distinguishing themselves in the support of the stamp-act, by a courageous contempt of their country, and of justice, have been left to linger out their miserable existence, without a government, collectorship, secretaryship, or any other commission, to console them as well as it could, for loss of virtue and reputation—while numberless offices have been bestowed in these colonies on people from Great-Britain, and new ones are continually invented, to be thus bestowed. As a few great prizes are put into a lottery, to tempt multitudes to lose, so here, and there an American has been raised to a good post.

“Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.”

Mr. Grenville, indeed, in order to recommend the stamp-act, had the unequalled generosity, to pour down a golden shower of offices upon Americans; and yet these ungrateful colonies did not thank Mr. Grenville for shewing his kindness to their countrymen, nor them for accepting it. How must that great statesman have been surprised, to find, that the unpollished colonies could not be reconciled to infamy by treachery? Such a bountiful disposition towards us never appeared in any minister before him, and probably never will appear again: for it is evident, that such a system of policy is to be established on this continent, as, in a short time, is to render it utterly unnecessary to use the least art in order to conciliate our approbation of any measures. Some of our countrymen may be employed to fix chains upon us, but they will never be permitted to hold them afterwards; so that the utmost, that any of them can expect, is only a temporary provision, that may expire in their own time; but which, they may be assured, will preclude their children from having any consideration paid to them. Natives of America must sink into total neglect and contempt, the moment that their country loses the constitutional powers she now possesses.

countrymen.—men, who, trained to the employment, or self-taught by a natural versatility of genius, serve as decoys for drawing the innocent and unwary into snares. It is not to be doubted but that such men will diligently bestir themselves on this and every like occasion, to spread the infection of their meanness as far as they can. On the plans they have adopted, this is their course. This is the method to recommend themselves to their patrons.

From them we shall learn, how pleasant and profitable a thing it is, to be, for our submissive behaviour, well spoken of at St. James's, or St. Stephen's; at Guildhall, or the Royal Exchange. Specious fallacies will be dressed up with all the arts of delusion, to persuade one colony to distinguish herself from another, by unbecoming condescensions, which will serve the ambitious purposes of great men at home, and therefore will be thought by them to entitle their assistants in obtaining them, to considerable rewards.

Our fears will be excited. Our hopes will be awakened. It will be insinuated to us, with a plausible affectation of wisdom and concern, how prudent it is to please the powerful—how dangerous to provoke them—and then comes in the perpetual incantation that freezes up every generous purpose of the soul in cold, inactive expectation—“that if there is any request to be made, compliance will obtain a favourable attention.”

Our vigilance and our union are success and safety. Our negligence and our division are distress and death. They are worse—they are shame and slavery. Let us equally shun the benumbing stillness of overweening sloth, and the feverish activity of that ill-informed zeal, which busies itself in maintaining little, mean, and narrow opinions. Let us, with a truly wise generosity and charity, banish and discourage all illiberal distinctions, which may arise from differences in situation, forms of government, or modes of religion. Let us consider ourselves as men—freemen—christian freemen—separated from the rest of the world, and firmly bound together by the same rights, interests, and dangers. Let these keep

our great ally right to a

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our attention inflexibly fixed on the great objects, which we must continually regard, in order to preserve those rights, to promote those interests, and to avert those dangers.

Let these truths be indelibly impressed on our minds—that we cannot be happy, without being free—that we cannot be free, without being secure in our property—that we cannot be secure in our property, if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away—that taxes imposed on us by parliament, do thus take it away—that duties, laid for the sole purpose of raising money, are taxes—that attempts to lay such duties should be instantly and firmly opposed—that this opposition can never be effectual, unless it is the united effort of these provinces—that therefore benevolence of temper towards each other, and unanimity of councils, are essential to the welfare of the whole—and lastly, that for this reason, every man amongst us, who in any manner would encourage either dissension, diffidence, or indiffERENCE, between these colonies, is an enemy to himself, and to his country.

The belief of these truths, I vari-ly think, my countrymen, is indispensably necessary to your happiness. I beseech you, therefore, “teach them diligently unto your children, and talk of them when you sit in your houses, and when you walk by the way, and when you lie down, and when you rise up.”

What have these colonies to ask, while they continue free? Or what have they to dread, but insidious attempts to subvert their freedom? Their prosperity does not depend on ministerial favours, doled out to particular provinces. They form one political body, of which each colony is a member. Their happiness is founded on their constitution; and is to be promoted, by preserving that constitution in unabated vigour, throughout every part. A spot, a speck of decay, however small the limb on which it appears, and however remote it may seem from the vitals, should be alarming. We have all the rights requisite for our prosperity. The legal authority of Great-Britain may, indeed, lay hard restrictions upon us; but, like the spear of Telephus, it will cure, as well as wound. Her un-

kindness will instruct and compel us, after some time, to discover, in our industry and frugality, surprising remedies—if our rights continue unviolated: for as long as the products of our labour, and the rewards of our care, can properly be called our own, to long it will be worth our while to be industrious and frugal. But if, when we plough—sow—reap—gather—and thresh—we find, that we plough—sow—reap—gather—and thresh for others, whose pleasure is to be the sole limitation, how much they shall take, and how much they shall leave, why should we repeat the unprofitable toil? Horses and oxen are content with that portion of the fruits of their work, which their owners assign them, in order to keep them strong enough to raise successive crops; but even these beasts will not submit to draw for their masters, until they are subdued by whips and goads.

Let us take care of our rights, and we therein take care of our prosperity.

* “Slavery is ever preceded by sleep.” Individuals may be dependent on ministers if they please, states should scorn it; and if you are not wanting to yourselves, you will have a proper regard paid you by those, to whom, if you are not respectable, you will be contemptible. But—if we have already forgotten the reasons that urged us, with unexampled unanimity, to exert ourselves two years ago—if our zeal for the public good is worn out before the homespun clothes, which it caused us to have made—if our resolutions are so faint, as by our present conduct to condemn our own late successful example—if we are not affected by any reverence for the memory of our ancestors, who transmitted to us that freedom, in which they had been blest—if we are not animated by any regard for posterity, to whom, by the most sacred obligations, we are bound to deliver down the invaluable inheritance—then, indeed, any minister—or any tool of a minister—or any creature of a tool of a minister—or any lower † instrument of † admini-

NOTES.

* Montesquieu's Spirit of laws, book 14, chap. 13.

† “*Instrumenta regni.*” Tacitus's Ann. book 12, § 66.

‡ If any person shall imagine the

nistrations, if lower there be, is a personage, whom it may be dangerous to offend.

I shall be extremely sorry, if any man mistakes my meaning in any

NOTE.

he discovers, in these letters, the least dislike of the dependence of these colonies on Great-Britain, I beg that such person will not form any judgment on particular expressions, but will consider the tenor of all the letters taken together. In that case, I flatter myself, that every unprejudiced reader will be convinced, that the true interests of Great Britain are as dear to me, as they ought to be to every good subject.

If I am an enthusiast in any thing, it is in my zeal for the perpetual dependence of these colonies on their mother country. A dependence founded on mutual benefits, the continuance of which can be secured only by mutual affections. Therefore it is, that with extreme apprehension I view the smallest seeds of discontent, which are unwarily scattered abroad. Fifty or sixty years will make astonishing alterations in these colonies; and this consideration should render it the business of Great-Britain more and more to cultivate our good dispositions towards her: but the misfortune is, that those great men, who are wrestling for power at home, think themselves very slightly interested in the prosperity of their country fifty or sixty years hence, but are deeply concerned in blowing up a popular clamour for supposed immediate advantages.

For my part, I regard Great-Britain as a bulwark, happily fixed between these colonies and the powerful nations of Europe. That kingdom remaining safe, we, under its protection, enjoying peace, may diffuse the blessings of religion, science, and liberty, thro' remote wildernesses. It is therefore incontestably our duty, and our interest, to support the strength of Great-Britain. When confiding in that strength, she begins to forget from whence it arose, it will be an easy thing to shew the source. She may readily be reminded of the loud alarm spread among her merchants and tradesmen, by the universal association of these colonies, at the time of the stamp-

thing I have said. Officers employed by the crown, are, while according to the laws they conduct themselves, entitled to legal obedience, and sincere respect. These it is a duty to render them; and these no good or prudent person will withhold. But when these officers, through rashness or design, desire to enlarge their authority beyond its due limits, and expect improper concessions to be made to them, from regard for the employments they bear, their attempts should be considered as equal injuries to the crown and people, and should be courageously and constantly opposed. To suffer our ideas to be confounded by names, on such occasions, would certainly be an inexcusable weakness, and probably an irremediable error.

We have reason to believe, that several of his majesty's present mini-

NOTE.

act, not to import any of her manufactures.

In the year 1718, the Russians and Swedes entered into an agreement, not to suffer Great-Britain to export any naval stores from their dominions, but in Russian or Swedish ships, and at their own prices. Great-Britain was distressed. Pitch and tar rose to three pounds a barrel. At length the thought of getting these articles from the colonies; and the attempt succeeding, they fell down to fifteen shillings. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, Great-Britain was threatened with an invasion. An easterly wind blowing for six weeks, she could not man her fleet, and the whole nation was thrown into the utmost consternation. The wind changed. The American ships arrived. The fleets sailed in ten or fifteen days. There are some other reflexions on this subject, worthy of the most deliberate attention of the British parliament; but they are of such a nature, that I do not choose to mention them publicly. I thought it my duty, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, while the stamp-act was in suspense, to write my sentiments to a gentleman of great influence at home, who afterwards distinguished himself, by espousing our cause, in the debates concerning the repeal of that act.

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sters are good men, and friends to our country; and it seems not unlikely, that, by a particular concurrence of events, we have been treated a little more severely than they wished we should be. They might not think it prudent to stem a torrent. But what is the difference to us, whether arbitrary acts take their rise from ministers, or are permitted by them? Ought any point to be allowed to a good minister, that should be denied to a bad one? The mortality of ministers, is a very frail mortality. A—— may succeed a Shelburne—A—— may succeed a Conway.

We find a new kind of minister lately spoken of at home.—“The minister of the house of commons.” The term seems to have peculiar propriety, when referred to these colonies, with a different meaning annexed to it, from that in which it is taken there. By the word “minister” we may understand not only a servant of the crown, but a man of influence among the commons, who regard themselves, as having a share in the sovereignty over us. The “minister of the house” may, in a point respecting the colonies, be so strong, that the minister of the crown in the house, if he is a distinct person, may not choose, even where his sentiments are favourable to us, to come to a pitched battle upon our account. For though I have the highest opinion of the deference of the house for the king’s minister, yet he may be so good natured, as not to put it to the test, except it be for the mere and immediate profit of his master or himself.

But whatever kind of minister he is, that attempts to innovate a single iota in the privileges of these colonies, him I hope you will undoubtedly oppose; and that you will never suffer yourselves to be either cheated or frightened into any unworthy obsequiousness. On such emergencies you may surely, without presumption, believe, that Almighty God himself will look

down upon your righteous contest with gracious approbation. You will be a “band of brothers,” cemented by the dearest ties,—and strengthened with inconceivable supplies of force and constancy, by that sympathetic ardour, which animates good men, confederated in a good cause. Your honour and welfare will be, as they now are, most intimately concerned; and besides—you are assigned by divine providence, in the appointed order of things, the protectors of unborn ages, whose fate depends upon your virtue. Whether they shall arise the generous and indisputable heirs of the noblest patrimonies, or the dastardly and hereditary drudges of imperious task-masters, you must determine.

To discharge this double duty to yourselves, and to your posterity, you have nothing to do, but to call forth into use the good sense and spirit, of which you are possessed. You have nothing to do, but to conduct your affairs peaceably—prudently—firmly—jointly. By these means you will support the character of freemen, without losing that of faithful subjects—a good character, in any government—one of the best, under a British government—You will prove, that Americans have that true magnanimity of soul, that can resent injuries, without falling into rage; and that, though your devotion to Great-Britain is the most affectionate, yet you can make proper distinctions, and know, what you owe to yourselves, as well as to her—You will, at the same time that you advance your interests, advance your reputation—You will convince the world of the justice of your demands, and the purity of your intentions—while all mankind must, with unceasing applauses, confess, that you indeed deserve liberty, who so well understand it, so passionately love it, so temperately enjoy it, and so wisely, bravely, and virtuously assert, maintain, and defend it.

“Certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar: verum id frustra, an ob rem, faciam, in vestra manu situm est, Quirites.”

For my part, I am resolved to contend for the liberty delivered down to me by my ancestors; but whe-

H

NOTE.

* *Ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit; novum illud exemplum, ab dignis et idoneis, ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur.*

Sall. Bell. Cat. § 50.

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ther I shall do it effectually or not, depends on you, my countrymen. "How little soever one is able to write, yet, when the liberties of one's country are threatened, it is still more difficult to be silent." February 15, 1768.



Address to the hon. John Dickinson, esquire, author of the preceding letters, presented by the society of Fort St. David, on Tuesday, May 10, 1768.

Respected sir,

WHEN a man of abilities, prompted by love of his country, exerts them in her cause, and renders her the most eminent services, not to be sensible of the benefits received, is stupidity; not to be grateful for them, is baseness.

Influenced by this sentiment, we, the governor and company of Fort St. David, who, among other inhabitants of British America, are indebted to you for your most excellent and generous vindication of liberties, dearer to us than our lives, beg leave to return you our heartiest thanks, and offer to you the greatest mark of esteem, that, as a body, it is in our power to bestow, by admitting you, as we hereby do, a member of our society.

When that destructive project of taxation, which your integrity and knowledge so signally contributed to baffle, about two years ago, was lately renewed under a disguise, so artfully contrived, as to delude millions; you, sir, watchful for the interests of your country, perfectly acquainted with them, and undaunted in asserting them, alone detected the monster, concealed from others by an altered appearance; exposed it, stripped of its insidious covering, in its own horrid shape; and, we firmly trust, by the blessing of God on your wisdom and virtue, will again extricate the British colonies on this continent, from the cruel snares of oppression; for we already perceive these colonies, roused by your strong and seasonable call, pursuing the salutary measures, advised by you for obtaining redress.

Nor is this all that you have performed for your native land. Animated by a sacred zeal, guided by truth, and supported by justice, you have penetrated to the foundations of the constitution; have poured the clearest light on the important points, hitherto involved in a darkness, bewildering even the learned; and have established, with an amazing force and plainness of argument, the true distinctions and grand principles, that will fully instruct ages yet unborn, what rights belong to them, and the best methods of defending them.

To merit far less distinguished, ancient Greece or Rome would have decreed statues and honours without number: but it is your fortune and your glory, sir, that you live in such times, and possess such exalted worth, that the envy of those, whose duty it is to applaud you, can receive no other consolation, than by withholding those praises in public, which all honest men acknowledge in private that you have deserved.

We present to you, sir, a small gift of a society not dignified by any legal authority: but when you consider this gift as expressive of the sincere affection of many of your fellow citizens for your person, and of their unlimited approbation of the noble principles maintained in your unequalled labours, we hope this testimony of our sentiments will be acceptable to you.

May that all-gracious Being, who, in kindness to these colonies, gave your valuable life existence at the critical period when it would be most wanted, grant it a long continuance, filled with every felicity; and when your country sustains its dreadful loss, may you enjoy the happiness of heaven, and on earth may your memory be cherished, as we doubt not it will be, to the latest posterity.

Signed by order of the society,
John Bayard, Secretary.

The Box was finely decorated, and the inscriptions neatly done in letters of gold. On the top was represented the cap of liberty on a spear, resting on a cypher of the letters J. D. Underneath the cypher in a semicircular label—*Pro patria*—Around the whole the following words:

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*The gift of the governor and society
of Fort St. David, to the author
of the Farmer's Letters, in
grateful testimony of
the very eminent
services thereby
rendered to
this coun-
try. 1768.*

On the inside of the top—
*The liberties of
the British colonies in America
asserted
with Attic eloquence,
and Roman spirit,*
by

*John Dickinson, esquire,
barrister at law.*

On the inside of the bottom—
*Ita cuique eveniat,
ut de republica mereat.*

On the outside of the bottom—A
sketch of Fort St. David.

To which the following answer was
returned.

Gentlemen,

I VERY gratefully receive the fa-
vour, you have been pleased to
bestow upon me, in admitting me a
member of your company; and I re-
turn you my heartiest thanks for your
kindness.

The "esteem" of worthy fellow
citizens is a treasure of the greatest
price; and as no man can more high-
ly value it than I do, your society
in "expressing the affection" of so
many respectable persons, for me, af-
fords me the sincerest pleasure.

Nor will this pleasure be lessened
by reflecting, that you may have regard-
ed with a generous partiality, my at-
tempts to promote the welfare of our
country; for the warmth of your
praises, in commending a conduct you
suppose to deserve them, gives worth
to those praises, by proving your me-
rit, while you attribute merit to ano-
ther.

Your characters, gentlemen, did not
need this evidence, to convince me,
how much I ought to prize your "es-
teem," or how much you deserved
mine.

I think myself extremely fortunate,
in having obtained your favourable o-
pinion, which I shall constantly and
carefully endeavour to preserve.

I most heartily wish you every kind

of happiness, and particularly, that you
may enjoy the comfortable prospect of
transmitting to your posterity those
"liberties dearer to you than your
lives," which God gave to you, and
which no inferior power has a right
to take away.

JOHN DICKINSON.



*Observations on capital punishments:
being a reply to an essay on the
same subject, published in the Ame-
rican Museum for July 1788, page
78.*

(Continued from page 453.)

HAVING now established the
point proposed, by the authority
of scripture, of reason, from provi-
dence, and the general consent of man-
kind in all nations and in all ages, yea
from the consent of the murderers
themselves when in their right minds,
I shall proceed to shew the weakness
and inconclusiveness of our author's
reasoning.

He says, "it is a violation of the
first political compact;" for, says he,
"men have absolute power over their
property and liberty, but not over their
lives." I have made it appear, that
the very contrary is true: that the
social compact is such, that the pow-
er to defend the life of the innocent,
necessarily involves a power to take
away the life of the aggressor; for, on
many occasions, it could not other-
wise be done; and it is not good sense,
to say, that men have an absolute
power over their property and liberty,
but not over their lives; because it is
certain, that our property and liberty
are at God's disposal, as much as our
lives. "The earth is the Lord's, and
the fulness thereof." When the
Chaldeans and Sabeans took away the
property of Job, he devoutly acknow-
ledged the hand of providence in it.
When Joseph was sold into Egypt, he
said, "God sent me before you, to
preserve life: it was not you that sent
me hither, but God." And we have
no more moral power or authority to
dispose of our property and liberty in
an unlawful manner, than of our lives;
we are regulated and restrained, in
both, equally by the divine law. We
may not dispose of any of them in an
unjust manner, or against law and
equity. We may not use them, but

in conformity to the will of God ; and must be accountable to him, for the use, or abuse, of them all.

If we may then commit the protection of property and liberty to the care of civil society, according to divine law, with equal propriety we may commit to it the protection of life, according to that law ; and indeed life is the principal thing committed to the protection of society. To preserve it from violence, is the chief object, the principal design of the institution of civil government ; and the preservation of the others, is only a subordinate concern. What will liberty and property avail a man, if his life be not safe ? " All that a man hath, will he give for his life." And what is this committing of it ? If it be done according to the divine law, or on conditions conformable to it, it is committed to the protection of that law itself ; that is, to God's protection : for God, in his moral government of the world, does not act by his own immediate agency or interposition, nor by force or compulsion, but by laws, by statutes, and ordinances, given to men ; by reason, moral suasion, and the authoritative institution of order, justice, and moral government among them. And if we commit the preservation of life to society in a conditional manner, which is certainly the case, this necessarily implies, that, if we violate the conditions or terms, on which we hold it, society is no longer under any obligation to protect it ; which amounts to the same thing, as to take it away. The fundamental laws of society are these conditions, and particularly this is one of them, that we do no violence to the blood of our neighbour. Take away this fundamental law, and immediately society rushes to ruin : no man's life is safe. When any one, then, violates this fundamental condition, on which all hold the tenure of life, he forfeits his life by the social compact, and by his own consent.

Our author's scheme would involve society in total confusion and ruin. He would make the tenure of life absolute and unconditional. He says, men can never forfeit it by the law of society. Then the preservation of no man's life is a fundamental law or condition of the social

union ; for, if my neighbour may injuriously take away my life, while none has a legal right to take away his for the crime, it is clear, that all men are in the same predicament. Another may do the same to him, and another to another, and each to all ; thus no man's life is safe. And then one of two evils must follow, perhaps both ; assassination or murder, must become common : or the administration of justice be placed in the hands of individuals. And, if we hold life by an absolute and unconditional tenure, I cannot see, but that we must hold liberty and property in like manner, and can never forfeit them ; for all are committed to the protection of society in the same manner ; and this would set aside punishment altogether, and, in effect, repeal all the laws of society ; for take away the penalty from a law, and you immediately repeal it. This would introduce universal anarchy and ruin. Thus an unconditional and absolute tenure would amount to none at all.

But if he allow of punishments, he must also admit a ratio between crimes and punishments. It would be absurd, to make the punishment of murder, the highest crime that can be committed against society, the same with the punishment of trespass or theft. I have, on this principle, sometimes questioned the propriety of punishing burglary or highway robbery with death : but am dissident even here. It argues much folly, self-conceit, and presumption, to arraign the wisdom of the wisest men in all ages and nations, and set up my wisdom as superior to theirs. It is certain, that these crimes naturally lead to the perpetration of murder, and are often accompanied with it. But this is not all. We are apt, in balancing this matter, to put in the one scale, the robber's life, and in the other, only his neighbour's property : and then say, what is a little property to life ? But this is not weighing things justly. It is not the property taken away, that ought to be balanced against the robber's life ; no, the property is perhaps recovered—but it is the order, the peace, the quiet, and safety of society ; and then it may be asked, what is one man's life, or the lives of a thousand, when

compared to this? Indeed this object is of such magnitude, that it is the grand and ultimate end of all government.

Our author is for leaving the life of the murderer to the judgment of God alone; "for, says he, God is the proprietor of our life." But God is the proprietor of our property and liberty likewise. Why then not leave these also to the judgment of God alone? A thief steals my goods, a robber assaults me on the highway, and takes my money. Why prosecute them at law? Is it only to obtain restitution? But the stolen goods often cannot be restored; and though they be restored, the criminal is justly punished, to deter him and others from the like crimes. Restitution is not the end of punishment. A neighbour owes this gentleman a debt, which he will not pay; God is the giver and disposer of our property: his providence over-rules all these things. Why does he prosecute at law? Why will he have money for money, pound for pound, and not blood for blood? It is true, that taking away the life of the murderer will not restore the life of the murdered: but it may save, and certainly does tend to save, the lives of thousands.

Besides, it ought to be considered, that civil magistracy is an ordinance of God; courts of justice are his courts; just laws are his laws; honest magistrates are his ministers. There is no power but of God; "the powers that be, are ordained of God: they are ministers of God for good:" and when they judge according to his law, it is not man's judgment, but God's. He gives the decision, and his minister announces and executes the sentence. The magistrate bears the sword, and wields it for God, and he bears it not in vain.

It is said, Cain, who murdered his brother Abel, was permitted to go free by God himself, and that this is a pattern for us to follow. This argument proves too much, more than our author would wish: for Cain was not even put under confinement, which he allows to be necessary. But this argument is of no force; for it may be asked, where was the body politic, to put him to death? There was but one other man in the world, after A-

bel's death; and for a long time afterwards, there were none but Adam and Cain. What civil compact had been formed? What social laws established? Where was the force, requisite to execute the sentence of death? The Almighty would not exercise it by an immediate stroke of his own hand; because he intended to establish society, and secure its safety, on another foundation, viz. to commit its protection to magistrates, and entrust them, as his ministers, with the execution of the laws. But he put a mark of his highest displeasure on Cain, drove him from his presence, pronounced him a fugitive and vagabond on the earth. And, as men only began then to exist on the earth, this may be a reason, why God spared him, that the world might not be too long unpeopled, and over-run by wild beasts. But, I doubt not to affirm, that Cain himself, after his posterity were multiplied and formed into a regular society, would see the necessity of punishing murder with death, and accordingly punish it.

I find, from conversation with the amiable gentleman, whose opinion I am constrained to oppose, that, to make his scheme hang together, or bear the appearance of consistency, he declares against all wars, defensive as well as offensive; and I once put the question to him, would you not defend your house against a midnight robber? Yes, said he, I would shut my door. We must suppose your door to have been shut at midnight, before the robber came; and he, not regarding this circumstance, attempts to break through it. What will you do then? Will you make no resistance? The very shutting of the door is to make some resistance. And what is a fleet on the sea, and an army on land, raised for the defence of a country? What is it but shutting the door? The united states are a house too large in its dimensions, to be shut with a door of boards or brass, or even a wall of stone. Therefore, there is no other way to defend such a house, but by a fleet and army: and a fleet and army that durst not fight, would be a solecism. And strange it must be, if we may lawfully destroy our enemy in battle, and not by a judicial process.

Many who scruple the lawfulness of war, have no doubt about the

legality of judicial proceedings, even to the death of the criminal. Offensive wars are, doubtless, contrary to the spirit and precepts of christianity; but mere self-defence is not liable to the same objection. Christianity was never intended to overthrow or subvert the immutable laws of nature, such as that of self-preservation. Had deists found such an absurdity in it, they would have triumphed more in this, and with more just reason too, than in all their other arguments. Do those men, who pretend to be friends to it, of a friendly part, in charging such absurdities on it? Jesus Christ, it is clear, while he does not intermeddle with the policy and laws of states, and is far, infinitely far, from giving encouragement to wars and violence, at the same time allows of self-defence. "He that hath no sword, (says he) let him sell his coat, and buy one." I shall introduce here a remark made by Mr. Jenyns in his treatise on the internal evidences of the christian religion. "To the judicious omission of these false virtues, we may add that remarkable silence, which the christian legislator every where preserves, on subjects, esteemed, by all others, of the highest importance—civil government, national policy, and the rights of war and peace: of these he has not taken the least notice, probably for this plain reason, because it would have been impossible to have formed any explicit regulations concerning them, which must not have been inconsistent with the purity of his religion, or with the practical observance of such imperfect creatures, as men, ruling over, and contending with each other: for instance, had he absolutely forbid all resistance to the reigning powers, he had constituted a plan of despotism, and made men slaves; had he allowed it, he must have authorised disobedience, and made them rebels; had he, in direct terms, prohibited all war, he must have left his followers an easy prey to every infidel invader; had he permitted it, he must have licensed all that rapine and murder, with which it is unavoidably attended."

There is indeed one thing, which, perhaps, I should have noticed before: Christ gives particular directions concerning divorce, and regulates it

otherwise, than it was in the Jewish church. "Moses, (says he) for the hardness of your hearts, permitted you to put away your wives." But marriage is not properly a civil institution; it is a natural one. By it, families are formed, not nations. Christ knew, that but few, comparatively, of the real members of his spiritual kingdom, would be the rulers of the kingdoms of this world. "Not many mighty, not many noble are called;" but it was necessary to allow to all the members of his church, the help of marriage; and indeed marriage is the foundation of a succession in the church, as well as in the state. It was therefore necessary to establish it in the church, in its purity, to rectify the abuses of it, and reduce it back to its original institution immediately after the creation of Adam and Eve.

Polygamy prevailed exceedingly among the oriental nations, and divorce is its inseparable attendant. The Jews were a small nation, separated from all the rest of the world, by peculiar laws and institutions, delivered in the oracles of inspiration, committed to them. They were encompassed with other nations, exceedingly differing from them in customs and laws, and particularly with respect to marriage. These nations, as might have been expected, had no small influence upon their manners; and polygamy itself was not entirely kept out of the nation. But it never prevailed nearly so much among them, as among some of their neighbours. "This time of ignorance God winked at." A high degree of perfection, at such a time, and in such circumstances, was perhaps impossible among the Jews. A law in the highest degree perfect, rigorous and strict, on the head of marriage and divorce, infinite wisdom did not think proper to give at that time. The Jewish state was also the church of God, and indeed the only visible church which he then had on earth; and as, on account of the hardness of their hearts, divorce was permitted by the law given to Moses, in some cases, in which it would be altogether improper to admit it in the church of the new testament, which enjoys a far superior degree of light, and higher privileges every way; Jesus Christ acted with infinite propriety, in reducing the law

to perfection, on that head, in the new testament church.

Our author quotes Ez. 20, 25. "I gave them statutes, that were not good; and judgments, whereby they should not live." The phrases, good and evil, must be often understood in very different senses. It is granted, that the Jewish dispensation was not the most perfect; it was introductory to the christian œconomy, which far excels in glory. But it would be dreadful to say, that any statute, morally evil, or contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, was established by divine authority. Penal evil is of a different nature. I suppose the culprit does not feel it good to be whipped, nor the murderer to be hanged; and yet it is just; and the administration of justice is essentially good to society. He gave Moses "a statute, that was not good" in this sense, when he said, Numb. 25, 4. "Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up;" and when, (as in Deuteron. 27.) He threatened direful curses on their disobedience, and obliged them to say, "amen," to every curse; in these instances he gave them "judgments by which they should not live," but die. No doubt of it: those who will not be bound by the precept, must endure the penalty; and in this sense of evil, it may with propriety be said, "Shall there be evil in the city, and the lord hath not done it?"

Our author farther says, "the punishment of murder, by death, is contrary to reason, and to the order and happiness of society." I have proved it to be perfectly agreeable to reason, and necessary to the order and happiness of society. But, says he, "It lessens the horror of taking away life." It is clear that his argument here, rests not on death itself, because that daily takes place among men, according to the ordinary course of nature: but on the manner of it, viz. by a judicial sentence; "this," says he, "familiarizes men to violence:" the drift, then, of his reasoning must be this: that, to assure a man, if he commit murder, he must suffer a premature, ignominious, and violent death, is a strong temptation to make him commit the crime. I fancy, however, that few men will believe this. It is contrary to experience, and to

all the principles of nature. Death is the king of terrors, and an ignominious and violent death, preceded by all the solemnities of a formal judicial trial, and attended with all the majesty and awful pomp of the executive authority, must be much more terrible. And I firmly believe, it is a powerful restraint on thousands, that holds them back from the commission of the crime, which would bring them to it.

"But," says he, "it produces murder, by the influence it has on people, who are tired of life." This is, like the former, a groundless assumption, a mere hypothesis. None of those unhappy people, who are so wretched as to be weary of life, ever, I believe, murdered an innocent person, just for the purpose of bringing themselves to an ignominious end. They know, that they can accomplish the dreadful work, by their own hands in secret. W——n B——le of Weathersfield in New-England, indeed, murdered his wife and four children: but, immediately after, destroyed himself. He gloried in dying a deist, as appeared from some of his papers, left behind him. In these he declared, that he had long premeditated the dreadful tragedy; and averred, that it was from tenderness and compassion to his family, that he had determined to destroy them. It is probable, that he was not only a deist, but what is commonly called a mortal deist: or believing, that he and they should have no existence after death. There is some reason to think, from the manuscripts which he left behind him, that he was altogether a sceptic, not only with respect to divine revelation, but also with regard to the principles of natural religion, the doctrine of providence, the immortality of the soul, and a future state. And yet, I remember, he says in some of his wretched scrawls which were printed, that, from frightful dreams, which his poor unhappy lady had been troubled, and which she had mentioned to him, and from other incidents, he fancied, that heaven gave intimations of approving his design. This, at the time when I read it, put me in mind of the inconsistency of lord Herbert, the great apostle of deism in England, mentioned by

dr. Leland. He, it seems, went to his knees, and devoutly prayed, that God would give him a revelation, whether it were his will, that he should publish his book against all revelation.

His third reason is like the former; it is altogether imaginary. "Punishing murder by death, (says he) multiplies murders, by the difficulties, which it creates, of convicting persons, who are guilty of it. Humanity, reviveth at the idea of the severity and certainty of a capital punishment, often steps in; and collects such evidence in favour of a murderer, as screens him from justice altogether, or palliates his crime into manslaughter." &c. I believe this perversion of justice, and abuse of law, may, on some occasions, be chargeable on some of the gentlemen at the bar, who, for the sake of reward, and to acquire a character of ability, wrest facts and pervert the law. But the very contrary is the truth, with regard to the great body of the people; for, mankind, in general, conceive such a horror at the unnatural crime of murder, that almost all men are anxious to detect and secure the perpetrator, and bring him to condign punishment. This is undoubtedly the truth; experience proves it: for, few murderers, comparatively, escape seizure. All men are ready and forward to seize and lay fast such an enemy to society. And few, I believe, who are brought to trial, fail to meet with condign punishment.

He says further, "The punishment of murder by death, is contrary to the operations of universal justice, by preventing the punishment of every species of murder; quack doctors, frauds of various kinds, and a licentious press, often destroy life." As to quack doctors, I shall not say much. Perhaps they sometimes kill: but probably their prescriptions are generally innocent. The people, who deal with them, do not know the qualities of medicine. They may be imposed on by any thing, that has the name. If quacks get money, they gain their purpose; and if they may get it as well by innocent things, as by pernicious, they would be downright devils to give the latter. However, I wish they could be restrained;

and also wish, that our amiable author would, on proper occasions, discover as much zeal against quack preachers, who go about, poisoning the souls of men, as he manifests against quack doctors. As for frauds, and a licentious press murdering people, it must argue great weakness in any persons, to be so moved with the loss of property, or even by the illiberal abuse of a licentious press, as to take away their lives on that account. Besides, when the press becomes very licentious, it carries the antidote in the poison; for, by and by, nobody regards it. But the amount of his reasoning here, were it all real, is just this; that because we cannot punish all murderers, therefore we ought to punish none; which is to say, that because men cannot administer justice perfectly in this world, therefore they ought to administer none. But the truth is, that, while the supreme governor will take care to preserve so much of a just distribution of rewards and punishments in this life, as clearly to discover the foot-steps of his divine majesty, in the government of the world; he will also permit so much imperfection unavoidably to blend with it, as to announce to us, and be at all times a sufficient memento, that the day is approaching, when he will sit judge alone, and render to every man according to his works. Quack doctors and others will then meet with their deserts.

I have now answered, I think, in one part or another of this essay, every thing worthy of notice in our author's performance. I was loth to enter on the disagreeable task; as I have a strong aversion to scribbling, and particularly controversial scribbling. The author, whom I have opposed, I love and esteem on many accounts: and believe, that he wishes to promote the good of society, even in what he has written. But, *humanum est errare*. If I have in any thing, misunderstood his meaning, or misrepresented it, I can say with integrity, I did not intend it, and would gladly hope there is not too much asperity in any thing I have advanced; though indeed it is almost impossible to manage a controversy, without provoking on one side or the other. If our composition be languid and dull, it is despised; if lively and

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animated, it is apt to fling. I have endeavoured to tread the middle path. My reasons for writing on this subject, are these—Liberty in the united states is verging fast towards licentiousness. I see government in a relaxed and feeble state. I see the magistracy, as well as the gospel, even in the hands of good men, treated with neglect and contempt. Religion, the only sure basis of good government, is entirely set aside, as an unnecessary thing: its necessity to government is, with many, not so much as a question; that is, they can see no necessity at all for it. Dr. Price, and some other writers, have contributed their endeavours to bring us to this. Humanity is become the popular cry! Weak men join in the cry, to gain the applause of the unthinking; but, as understood, it degenerates into nonsense. Liberality, in religious sentiments, is become as popular and common a cry! But what is this liberality of sentiment? It is, with too many, a total indifference about religion; with many more, a high contempt of it. We are become so wise, as to see, that even the tolerant zeal of our forefathers, for the support of religion, was absurd bigotry and folly. We can do without it—But, if we once should arrive at such a state, as to lose all reverence for God, and all dread of civil government too, all regard both to divine and human laws, we will soon feel the consequences, and they must be tremendous!

In fine, I cannot help expressing my wishes, that our author, who is truly amiable on many accounts, and (I believe) a sincere friend to humanity and society, would, for the future, abstain from hazarding such sentiments. I wish it for his own sake. They cannot honour him.—To treat the word of God, as if it gave an uncertain sound, or were obscure, where it is altogether explicit; to treat the wisdom of the wisest men, as if it were folly and savage cruelty, cannot honour him. I wish it, for the sake of the community, of which I am a member; for I am certain, it can receive no benefit from such publications. No man is fit for all things. Our author, I doubt not, understands his own profession; but I am persuaded, that he would make

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but an indifferent legislator or divine. It would be well for us all, to remember the ancient adage—*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* I wish ever to be a friend to humanity—but let it be a rational and judicious humanity. Humanity of this kind is the image of God on man. May it increase more and more! But that humanity, which would overturn the pillars of justice, order, and good government, the laws of God and man, I deprecate as the worst of evils! Humanity, that would spare murderers, would be the most shocking inhumanity and cruelty to the religious, sober, and virtuous part of the community. For, if the wicked may destroy the life of the innocent, while no power on earth can lawfully touch the life of the wicked, injustice is more powerful than justice; lawless outrage more mighty than legal government; Satan stronger than the Almighty; the war, between the kingdom of justice and the kingdom of injustice, quite unequal; and the advantage entirely on the side of iniquity, which would soon establish its throne. Here would be an evil in civil society, for which there would be no adequate remedy. Every man has the physical power of destroying the life of his neighbour. Strange indeed it must be, if there be no moral authority or power, lodged with society, adequate to restrain this brutal force—if every man may kill his neighbour, while no legal authority can touch the life of the murderer—all men are exposed to lawless outrage, private assassination, and revenge; which would introduce absolute anarchy, and soon exterminate the whole human race.



Case of Thomas Philpot, who was tried and condemned, in the court of king's bench, Dublin, for indenting servants for America.

ON the 26th of May last, a cause came on, before lord chief justice Earsfort, sir Samuel Bradstreet, judges Henn and Bennett, wherein the king was plaintiff, against Thomas Philpot, mariner, for endeavouring to entice and inveigle certain manufacturers and artisans to leave Ireland, and emigrate with him, as redemptioners, to George-town, and o-

ther parts of the continent of America.

The first witness produced, was John Siberry, a wire-drawer, who deposed, that he was walking on John's-quay, and called at a rendezvous house, where he met the traverser, and offered to indent with him for three years; Philpot told him, that, if he was an apprentice, he would have nothing to do with him; but that, if he was his own master, and willing, he would indent him for four years: that accordingly the deponent consented, and was taken on board the *Golden Rule*, where he concluded with Philpot, who, notwithstanding, told him, that provided he paid for his maintenance a shilling a day, he might go ashore, whenever he thought proper; that he was perfectly at ease until the 4th of March last, when he was seized upon by alderman James, and others, who put him into Bridewell, where he had been allowed until the day of trial, six-pence a day. Upon the whole, this wire-drawer appeared an object of pity, unable to earn bread at home, and willing to go any where for a support.

Mr. Draper was next examined: who swore that he found a box with the traverser, which he claimed as his own; that in it he found Siberry's indentures, and forty or fifty pair beside; that Philpot acted as supercargo; and that, although there were a number of people on board, he brought none on shore, but Siberry and two or three others, the rest being unwilling to leave the vessel.

Henry Welsh, an unfortunate, ragged, famished tailor, was also examined, who declared, that he would much rather have gone to America, than have done worse; that Mr. Philpot never strove to entice him to go; but that, on the contrary, he himself solicited to go; wishing rather to go any where, than rob or steal; and that he had worked but one week, in nine months, in the city (at that time, there was a long vacation amongst the tailors); in short, that he was famishing for want of employment, and therefore wished to go to America.

Abraham Rogers was the only witness examined, on the part of the traverser; who deposed, that Philpot

lodged in his house; that he frequently heard him turn away apprentices, men who had families, or were in liquor, and that he never saw, or heard, that he endeavoured to entice any person on board the *Golden Rule*.

Upon the closing of the evidence, Mr. Caldbeck most ably defended the traverser; and even insinuated, that he himself (if he had inclination) could not for the benefit of his health go to any part of France, as he had been a manufacturer of gunpowder; and that the only free people, in his mind, were lawyers, clergymen, physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries; for, that any other description of people were bound by the law in question, never to leave their country. He said, that once a law subsisted, making it death to draw blood in the streets; by which, if a person fainted in the street, and a surgeon bled him, the surgeon ran a risk of being hanged, as the letter of the law was absolutely against the humane action.

On Mr. Caldbeck's finishing, the judges severally gave their charges to the jury; whereupon they found the said Thomas Philpot guilty of contracting with John Siberry, the wire-drawer, in order to bring him, the said Siberry, to a part of America out of his majesty's dominions; but acquitted Mr. Philpot of all the other charges. The court fined Philpot five hundred pounds, and ordered him to be imprisoned one year. 'Tis thought, however, that both the fine, and term of imprisonment, will be much mitigated; and that the judges merely wanted to make an example, in terrorem; as poor Philpot was the first person tried upon this act, which inflicts a penalty of five hundred pounds, and imposes a year's imprisonment upon any person, who shall entice or inveigle any manufacturer out of the British dominions.



Case of Joseph Harrington, who was tried, and condemned, on a charge similar to the preceding.

A Cause was tried, May 28, in the court of king's bench, at the suit of the king, against Joseph Harrington, second mate of the *Baltimore*, for enticing manufacturers to emigrate out of the British dominions.

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The first witness was one Burleigh, a thread-maker, who swore, that one day, in a drunken frolic, he called upon the traverser, and told him, that he wished to go to America; on which Harrington told him to send his name to captain Darley, and that he (Darley) would indent him for three or four years; in consequence of which, the deponent went on board, where he remained, until his friends went in quest of him, and brought him home, after paying a shilling a day for his diet, whilst on board the vessel. Deponent swore, that certain people told him, he might prosecute Harrington; for that he had acted both illegally and improperly; and that, in consequence, he had lodged informations against him, for the service of his king and country he declared, that he did not indent with any person; that Joseph Harrington was but second mate, and acted for the captain and not for himself, and that one Dickenson was first mate. Upon the whole, Burleigh seemed to be a well-tutored, hardened, impudent fellow.

Mr. Draper, the informer, was next examined, who produced a book, that he had forcibly drawn out of the bosom of Joseph Harrington, which contained a list of redemptioners, in which was the name of Burleigh, and a memorandum, specifying that Burleigh had agreed to indent with the captain for three years. He declared that he believed, Harrington acted by orders of the captain; and that he was convinced, he could never pay the fine.

John Norwood was then called upon, and declared that he knew the traverser; that he had sailed with him from Baltimore to Cork; and that he never was in an higher station, on board any vessel, than that of second mate; he swore that no thread-maker was worth his passage to America, and therefore Burleigh could have been no acquisition to any person: in fact, the evidence did by no means support the indictment; Harrington having neither indented any person, nor enticed, seduced, or solicited any one to indent with him.

The jury acquitted Harrington of every indictment but that of agreeing

with Burleigh, to carry him out of his majesty's dominions; for which he was fined five hundred pounds, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

The jury were the same who had before tried Philpot, and found him guilty.

Opinion of the attorney general of England, relative to American trade.

THE question propounded to Mr. attorney, was "whether a man, born in Great-Britain, is capable, and by what means, of becoming a subject of the united States, to the effect of being qualified to own, command, or navigate an American ship, importing (into England) tobacco, or other American commodities?"

The answer. "Very different questions may arise, in consequence of the independence of America.

"But, if I understand the present question, it is, whether a man born in Great-Britain, and not resident in America, at the time of her independence being granted, can make himself a subject of America.

"I am of opinion—That he cannot—and that he is, notwithstanding his residence in America, a British subject; and consequently cannot command an American vessel in a British port, according to the act of navigation."

N. B. Vessels, to belong to America, must be American-built, and owned by American subjects—and at least three-fourths of the crew must be Americans. On a failure of these requisites—the vessel is forfeited.

Observations on the best method of restoring worn-out soils, without manure.

THE first thing, necessary on such lands, is, immediately after harvest, to turn them up with the plough, as deep as possible. In order to do this effectually, it will sometimes be needful, that a second plough should follow the first in the same furrow; which will throw the mould over, and bury the stubble and weeds. In this case, there will be a new soil upon the surface, which, being fresh to the air, will receive much greater and

more lasting benefit from the sun, the rain, and the frosts, than it otherwise could do; as thereby it will attract a greater quantity of the nutrition, which these afford. The stubble and weeds, being, by this method of ploughing, buried deep, will much sooner rot, than when just covered. In this state, the ridges will lie high; and if the land be wet, or of the brick-earth kind, they will be full of clots or large lumps.

No time should now be lost, by delaying to render this newly turned up soil as fine, as harrowing can make it. I know that, in this particular, my judgment will be called in question by numbers. Common farmers will say, "To what purpose is all this expense and labour, when, if the land be suffered to lie in its rough state through the winter, the frost and the rains will do the work for you?"—But this is the language of the indolent and inexperienced husbandman only.

I am convinced, by repeated experiments, close observation, and plain reasoning on known facts, that lands which are made fine before the sharp frost and winter rains come on, will receive a much greater share of their influence, than any other.

If the land be left in a rough state, there is seldom time for the rains and frost to affect more than the outside of the large clods or lumps: the outside will indeed be pulverized; but the middle of the lumps, wherever they are large, will be found nearly in the same hard stiff state, as when turned up by the plough. Hence it must appear to every one, that, in this case, the benefit of air, winter rains, and frosts on lands, thus left, is partial; and the consequence is, that harrowing it in the spring, when these are over, is too late for its receiving the benefit which would otherwise have accrued from them; and the power of vegetation is not so vigorous.

But to make winter fallows as fine as they can be in autumn, and then ridge them up in that pulverized state, is acting in a manner the most conformable to nature. The greatest possible quantity of surface is, by this means, exposed to the atmosphere; and the land is left in a state in which the rains and the frost are most easily admitted. They will then penetrate

and enrich the whole mass to a greater depth.

If the frost penetrates a quantity of earth, formed into a large hard clod, partially, on account of its bulk and hardness (which is always found to be the case) it is evident that the same clod, broken into four parts, would be thereby penetrated four times as much; or, in other words, four times the quantity of earth would be affected by it, and, on a thaw, be pulverized. For we find that, after the breaking up of a severe frost, all the small clods crumble easily into powder; while the larger ones are only made smaller, by the crumbling of their surface to a certain depth.

By this deep ploughing, which I have recommended, the worn-out soil being turned in, the second stratum, or fresh earth, is now uppermost; and having been made as fine as it can be in autumn, and thus exposed to the air, the rain, and frost, during winter, and cleansed of its impurities; it becomes a fresh, fertilized earth, in the best possible state for vigorous vegetation.

Many farmers will probably object to this method, on account of its being attended with a little extra expense. But I wish them to consider, first, that this expense is more in appearance than reality; for less labour is requisite in the spring—and secondly, that it will be amply repaid by the goodness of succeeding crops.

About seven years since, I made a comparative experiment of this kind on a field of ten acres, the soil of which was as equal as possible in goodness. The one half of this field I left, after ploughing, in its rough state, the surface being covered with large hard clods. The other half I made as fine as possible, by harrowing with ox harrows, and beating in pieces the hardest and largest clods, which the harrow would not break.

In the spring, the part which I had harrowed, was, without any additional labour, much finer than I could render the other (which was left in its rough state) by repeated harrowing; for the rain and the frost having not penetrated the middle of the large clods, they had received no benefit from either; and were as hard as bricks; being only lessened in size,

I sowed the whole field with barley the last week in April, and threw nine pounds of broad clover in with it. On reaping it, I kept the crops separate; the part left rough produced twenty four bushels per acre; the other thirty one; the latter by much the finer sample. The crop of clover next year was equally in favour of the method I recommend, being heavier by near half a ton per acre.

The extra expense, on this part, was only about eight shillings per acre; the extra produce yielded an extra profit of more than twenty shillings per acre.

The following method of preventing the smut in corn, may probably be efficacious in destroying the Hessian fly. Should any farmer make the experiment, the printer of the American Museum requests to be favoured with an account of its success.

I Presume that nothing need be said here relating to the cause of smut; and therefore I pass on to the cure. Having, about thirty years ago, discovered insects, or vermin, to be the true cause of smut, and withal how they propagate their species from one generation to another, whereby our corn frequently becomes infected with blackness, and the crops are often much reduced, according as they happen to be more or less affected with this fatal disease; I made use of a kind of pickle, in order to destroy their brood; which has, for near thirty years past, very effectually answered this purpose, and rendered the wheat much better, either for sowing or drilling, than the common methods of brining and liming can do.

To make the pickle.

Put into a tub, with a hole at the bottom, (in which a staff and tap-hole are to be placed as in the manner of brewing) seventy gallons of water; to this put half a hundred weight of stone-lime, which, in measure, is found to be a corn bushel full; stir it well for about half an hour, then let it stand for about thirty hours;—run it off into another tub, in which the grain is to be steeped; which generally produces about a hoghead of good lime-water; to this add three pecks of salt (forty two

pounds) which, when dissolved, is fit for use. But in case sea water can be obtained, much less salt will suffice: the rule is, to have the specific gravity sufficient to float an egg, by adding salt sufficient for this purpose: in this liquor, with a basket made on purpose (which for a large farm ought to be two feet diameter at bottom, and twenty inches deep) dip the grain gradually in small quantities, from one bushel to two; stirring it, and skimming off the light grains, which ought not to be sown, because many of them are infectious: this done, draw up the basket, to drain over the pickle for a few minutes, and so proceed in like manner. This seed will be fit for sowing in twenty-four hours; but for drilling, forty-eight are better. Should the driller meet with any difficulty herein, more lime must be added to make the pickle more stringent; for lime differs much in quality: here the master must use his own discretion. In case the seed is made ready for sowing, or drilling, five, six, seven, eight, or ten days before hand, I know no difference at all: I have let it lie much longer, without the least injury or inconvenience. I. R.

Remarkable change in the complexion of an Indian: in a letter from Mr. Benedict, of Lebanon, to the President Stiles, of Yale college.

THIS Indian is about forty years of age: he calls himself by the name of Samuel Addams, and was born at Farmington, in the State of Connecticut: he is tall and well made; his hair is long, coarse, and of the pure Indian black, but grows out of a skin as white as a lily.—He tells me, that he began to whiten about two years before I saw him, which was in July one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six—the white first appeared upon his breast, and gradually spread from thence.—I carefully examined him, and found him to be entirely white, except the prominent parts of his face, viz. his forehead, cheek bones, nose, and about his chin, which were of the pure Indian colour, and I think darker than common for that nation: the colours in his face did not form a shade, by running into each other; but were

both of them entire, to the very line of contact, and exhibited a very grotesque appearance.—His arms were white, but his hands were pied, and his fingers of the natural Indian colour; it was the same with his feet as with his hands; they were interspersed with the natural tawn; his toes are black; but his legs and thighs are wholly white: what is worthy of observation, is, that the white is perfectly natural, and would be deemed very fair for an Englishman. I compared him with fourteen or fifteen persons of both sexes, that were at my house, and he was visibly the fairest: he told me, that he had enjoyed uninterrupted good health, both before and since he began to whiten.—He appears pleased with his transmutation; and from the information of others, who have seen him since these observations were made, I learn that the remaining black still continues to disappear.”



The great efficacy of white ash bark, in expelling the poison communicated by the bite of venomous animals.

JEREMIAH HALSEY, esq. of Preston, was, some time since, stung by a bee, in the upper lip. The pain, which it occasioned, immediately extended over the whole body. In fifteen minutes his limbs swelled, with large eruptions, which covered the body. Every appearance indicated a high state of inflammation. The case soon became very alarming; as in about twenty minutes, the lungs were sensibly affected; and fainting fits indicated approaching death. As soon as it could be procured, he chewed some of the white ash bark, and immediately received sensible relief at the breast. He then took a decoction of it with milk, and perfectly recovered; the swelling continuing about two days.

The same gentleman attests the following as a fact, of which he was a witness.—A dog, in attempting to kill a red snake, was bitten in three or four places in the head. The bite of this snake is said to be more venomous than that of the rattlesnake. In about an hour, the dog became much swollen, and discovered scarcely any signs of life. Milk, boiled with the

white ash bark, was now poured down his throat. The effect was surprising, and may appear incredible. The next morning, which was about twelve hours after the dog was bitten, he was as active as ever; and hunted in the woods, as usual.

It is an undoubted truth, that the Indians, who are generally well acquainted with the virtues of indigenous productions, have the white ash in great estimation, as peculiarly unfriendly to venomous snakes.

As the bite of a mad dog, is thought to communicate a slow, though fatal, poison, it is submitted to the gentlemen of the faculty, whether, from the above facts, this bark might not be tried in cases of canine madness.



Singular phenomenon.

Winchester, March 17, 1787.

ABOUT three o'clock last Tuesday afternoon, a heavy, rumbling noise was heard in a mountain the south-east part of the town, at several times, for the space of 20 or 30 minutes, when, all of a sudden, Mr. Gold, who lived at the foot of the mountain, saw it break forth, and the rocks and dirt move in vast bodies; soon after the first were discovered, rocks and dirt were seen to fly in the air, though the main body made its way down the mountain. Mr. Gold stood viewing it, until the noise seemed to be over, when he suddenly heard it again, and perceived a second eruption taking place, at the distance of about 8 or 10 feet from the first: the noise and motion were as sudden as if they had been occasioned by a blast of powder, though he saw no appearance of smoke or fire, nor did he smell any thing of a sulphureous nature. I have since viewed the ground, but could not discover any thing of a sulphureous kind, sufficient to cause the eruption; there are many conjectures respecting the cause of it. The distance from the place where the eruption began, to where it ended, was about 10 or 12 rods, and in some places 30 or 35 feet wide, and from 4 to 8 feet in depth. Rocks of several tons weight were thrown many rods down the mountain, and I suppose, at a moderate computation, there was as much as an acre of land, covered with rocks

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and gravel. The rocks and dirt thrown out, are supposed by many to be several thousand tons.



Salutary effects of wearing flannel next to the body; proved by a course of experiments made to determine the positive and relative quantities of moisture absorbed from the atmosphere by various substances, under similar circumstances.

THESE experiments were made, with a view to discover, whether there be any relation between the power of conducting heat, and that of absorbing moisture from the atmosphere; and from them it appears that these two properties have no dependence on, or connexion with, each other.

The substances, employed in these experiments, were chiefly those which are commonly used for clothing; sheep's wool, beaver's fur, the fur of a Russian hare, raw silk, ravelings of white taffety, cotton-wool, fine lint, and ravelings of fine linen. These, spread on clean China plates, were kept twenty-four hours in the dry air of a warm room, which had been heated every day, for several months, by a German stove. Equal quantities of them, weighed on the spot in this dry state, were set first in a large, uninhabited room, on the second floor, for forty-eight hours; and afterwards for three days and three nights, in a cellar, where the air was remarkably damp. The sheep's wool gained an increase, in the uninhabited room, of 84 parts, and, in the cellar, of 163 parts, in 1000: the ravelings of linen increased only 44 in the former situation, and 82 in the latter; and the others gained intermediate quantities, in the order in which they are above set down; except, that the cotton-wool differed very little, and somewhat irregularly from the linen, being one more in the uninhabited room, and seven less in the cellar.

The result of these experiments is the very reverse of what might have been expected: for, as linen is known to imbibe water with avidity, while wool, hair, and other like animal substances, are with difficulty made wet, it would be natural to expect, that, li-

nen would most powerfully absorb moisture from the atmosphere; especially, when we consider the apparent difference in the dampness of linen and woollen clothes, when they are both exposed equally to the same air. The experiments, however, shew the contrary; and that bodies, which receive water itself with the greatest ease, are not always those which most powerfully attract its vapour from the air.

It is probably in virtue of the strong attraction, which these experiments shew to subsist between wool and watry vapour, that woollen, worn next the skin, so greatly promotes perspiration—the perspired fluid being freely absorbed, and transmitted through it, and thus exposed, by a large surface, to be carried off by the atmosphere. The author is hence led to recommend, very earnestly, the wearing of flannel next to the skin; having himself experienced great benefit from it, before he had any idea of discovering the physical cause. ‘I am astonished,’ says he, ‘that this custom should not have prevailed more universally; I am confident it would prevent a multitude of diseases; and I know of no greater luxury, than the comfortable sensation, which arises from wearing it, especially after one is a little accustomed to it. It is a mistaken notion, that it is too warm a clothing for summer: I have worn it in all climates, and in the hottest seasons of the year; and never found the least inconvenience from it. It is the warm bath of a perspiration, confined by a linen shirt, wet with sweat, which renders the summer heats of southern climates so insupportable: but flannel promotes perspiration, and favours evaporation; and evaporation, as it is well known, produces positive cold.



Curious remarks on the different degrees of heat imbibed from the sun's rays, by cloths of different colours. From dr. Franklin's experiments and observations on electricity, &c.

FIRST, let me mention an experiment you may easily make yourself. Walk but a quarter of an hour in your garden, when the sun shines, with a part of your dress white, and a

part black; then apply your hand to them alternately, and you will find a very great difference in their warmth. The black will be quite hot to the touch, the white still cool.

Another. Try to fire paper with a burning glass. If it is white, you will not easily burn it;—but if you bring the focus to a black spot, or upon letters, written or printed, the paper will immediately be on fire under the letters.

Thus, fullers and dyers find black cloths, of equal thickness with white ones, and hung out equally wet, dry in the sun much sooner than the white, being more readily heated by the sun's rays. It is the same before a fire, the heat of which sooner penetrates black stockings than white ones, and is therefore apt sooner to burn a man's shins. Also beer much sooner warms in a black mug, set before the fire, than in a white one, or in a bright silver tankard.

My experiment was this: I took a number of little square pieces of broad cloth from a tailor's pattern card, of various colours. There were black, deep blue, lighter blue, green, purple, red, yellow, white, and other colours, or shades of colours. I laid them all out upon the snow in a bright sunshiny morning. In a few hours (I cannot now be exact as to the time, the black, being warmed most by the sun, was sunk so low as to be below the stroke of the sun's rays: the dark blue almost as low, the lighter blue not quite so much as the dark, the other colours less as they were lighter; and the white remained on the surface of the snow, not having entered it at all.

What signifies philosophy that does not apply to some use? May we not learn from hence, that black clothes are not so fit to wear in a hot sunny climate, or season, as white ones; because, in such clothes the body is more heated by the sun when we walk abroad, and are at the same time heated by the exercise, which double heat is apt to bring on dangerous putrid fevers? That soldiers and seamen, who must march and labour in the sun, should, in the East or West-Indies, have an uniform of white? That summer hats, for men or women, should be white, as repelling that heat

which gives head-achs to many, and to some, the fatal stroke that the French call the coup de soleil? That the ladies' summer hats, however, should be lined with black, as not reverberating on their faces those rays which are reflected upwards from the earth or water? That the putting a white cap of paper, or linen, within the crown of a black hat, as some do, will not keep out the heat, though it would if placed without? That fruit walls being blacked, may receive so much heat from the sun, in the day-time, as to continue warm, in some degree, through the night, and thereby preserve the fruit from frosts, or forward its growth? With sundry other particulars of less or greater importance that will occur, from time to time, to attentive minds?



Rules to make a good tradesman.

1st. **E**NDEAVOUR to be perfect in the calling, you are engaged in; and be assiduous in every part thereof—industry being the natural means of acquiring wealth, honour, and reputation—as idleness is of poverty, shame, and disgrace.

2d. Lay a good foundation, with regard to principle. Be sure not, wilfully, to over-reach or deceive your neighbour; but keep always in your eye the golden rule, of doing to others, as you would they should do unto you.

3d. Be strict in discharging all legal debts. Do not evade your creditors, by any shuffling arts, in giving your notes of hand, only to defer the payment. But, if you have it in your power, discharge all debts, when they become due. Above all, when you are strained for want of money, be cautious of taking it up at high interest. This has been the ruin of many; therefore endeavour to avoid it.

4th. Endeavour to be as much in your shop or warehouse, or in whatever place your business properly lies, as possibly you can. Leave it not to servants to transact; for customers will not regard them, as they would yourself; they generally think they shall not be so well served: besides, mistakes may arise by the negligence or inexperience of servants; and,

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therefore your presence will probably prevent the loss of a good customer.

5th. Be complaisant to the meanest, as well as to the greatest; you are as much obliged to use good manners, for a farthing, as for a pound; the one demands it from you, as well as the other.

6th. Be not too talkative; but speak as much as is necessary to recommend your goods; and always keep within the rules of decency. If customers slight your goods and undervalue them, endeavour to convince them of their mistake, if you can; but do not affront them. Do not be pert in your answers; but "with patience hear, and with meekness answer;" for if you affront in a small matter, it may probably hinder you from a future good customer. They may think, you are dear in the articles they want; but, by going to another, they may find it is not so, and probably may return again: but if you behave rudely, and affront them, there is no hope either of their returning, or of their future custom.

7th. Take care to keep your accounts well; enter every thing necessary in your books, with neatness and exactness; often state your accounts, and examine, whether you gain or lose; and carefully survey your stock, and inspect into every particular of your affairs.

8th. Take care, as much as you can, whom you trust; neither take nor give long credit; but at farthest, settle your accounts annually. Deal at the fountain head, for as many articles as you can; and, if it lies in your power, for ready money; this method you will find to be the most profitable in the end. Endeavour to keep a proper assortment in your way, but do not overstock yourself. Aim not at making a great figure in your shop, in unnecessary ornaments; but let it be neat and convenient. Too great an appearance may rather prevent, than engage, customers.

9th. To all these things, and above all, add a serious and conscientious regard to the practice of all the duties of the christian religion. They have a natural tendency to promote your present, as well as future, felicity; and besides, by such a practice, you will infallibly secure the blessing of pro-

vidence, which is better than every earthly blessing.



The bachelor. No. VIII.

(Continued from page 126.)

I Might have sat in my elbow-chair 'till doomsday, and revolved the matter over, and over, and over again, 'till my brain had become as dry, as a box of Scotch snuff—I might have wasted the midnight lamp, read all the works of the ancients and moderns, the learned, and the unlearned, on the subject, and even out-studied *Duns Scotus* himself; yet I should not have been able to determine the point. 'Tis very strange, said I, that any speculation whatever should be supported and attacked, established and confuted, by reasons so exactly balancing each other, as to leave the judgment hanging in the air, like *Mahomet's* coffin—The hundred thousandth part of a grain would set all a-going; and yet, I cannot throw that hundred thousandth part of a grain into one scale, but I find as much hath dropped into the opposite one; and I am left just where I was. In short, I found it impossible to determine, whether I had better marry, or not.

At last, an accident—who could have thought it!—an accident settled this important matter—broke the dam, which I had been many years building up, strengthening, and repairing; and let out all my objections, at once, in a torrent. It would have surpris'd any one, to see, how my prudential motives, self-love, avarice, pride, peculiarities of opinion, &c. &c. &c. tumbled out, helter-skelter, head over heels, like the breaking up of a play-house.—Here, you might have seen pride flourishing and bounding indignant through the foaming tide;—there, lay avarice wriggling and twisting in mud and slime;—in one place, self-love, like a mud-turtle, collected within its own dirty shell; and thousands of odd notions and peculiarities of opinion, crawling about every where, like snails, wood-lice, tadpoles, and a variety of filthy, disgusting vermin.

But the accident, which occasioned this extraordinary revolution, is worth recounting;—you shall hear it.—

In my last, I informed you of my

illness, and recovery : for the better establishment of my health, the exercise of walking was much recommended. Accordingly, I made it a rule, whenever the weather would permit, to walk two or three miles before dinner. One day, in taking my usual exercise, I crossed the commons, and found myself on the lower-ferry road. Two women passed me in a chair. The younger of the two drew the attention of a momentary glance. I thought I discovered something in her, that made me wish for a longer view. They had not proceeded above an hundred yards, when their horse took fright, ran up against a fence, and over-set the chair. I made all the haste I could, to the assistance of the unfortunate ladies. The elder of the two seemed to have received no great injury from the accident ; but the younger, either from the force of the fall, or through fear, had fainted away. I took her in my arms. Her head reclined on my bosom. She was delicate—she was beautiful. I felt an anxiety, which I had never felt before. Love, though I knew it not, stole into my heart, in the disguise of compassion. I chased her temples, her wrists, and the palms of her hands. The soft touch thrilled through every vein, and awakened unusual sensations. She recovered, and, observing her situation, with a gentle effort, disengaged herself from my arms ; then thanked me for my care, with graceful ease, and a languishing voice. The elder lady, who, I found, was her mother, joined her in grateful acknowledgments. The horse, and broken chair, were left at a neighbouring house ; and I insisted on conducting the ladies home. Little passed during this walk, but grateful expressions on the part of the ladies, and polite assurances on mine. I did not fail, however, to examine the young lady's person and deportment, with eager attention ; and the more I examined, the more I was pleased with her. As they were both much discomposed by the accident, I did not choose to intrude upon them at that time ; but took my leave at their door, with a promise to wait on them next day, and enquire after their health.

After I returned home, this adven-

ture engrossed the whole of my thoughts. I secretly wished myself some twenty years younger, that I might, with propriety, endeavour to make this amiable young lady my own. What a treasure, said I to myself, must she be, to a man of sense and delicacy ! How happy should I be at this time, if I had, in the earlier part of my life, connected myself with such an engaging companion ! But I have missed the golden opportunity, and must e'en fret out the remainder of my life, as well as I can.

The day was long—the night longer. The next morning was chiefly spent in preparations, for my afternoon's visit. I was uncommonly particular about my dress : although I had no determined design in view. Particular orders were given, with respect to the dressing of my wig ; my best suit of broad-cloth was taken out of the press ; and my new beaver neatly and carefully brushed ;—in short, I was more attentive to my dress, than for many years before. But I satisfied myself, by placing all to the score of politeness and civility. When all was ready, I went to the glass, to adjust my wig. I thought I looked uncommonly well ; at least I observed a neatness in my dress, and a vivacity in my countenance, to which I had been long unaccustomed. Certain reflexions arose in my mind, which I could not then suppress. And thus I reasoned with myself—few men carry their age better, than I do—this must be owing to the regularity and temperance of my past life—a discreet man of fifty enjoys the powers of life in greater vigour, than a debauchee of twenty. Who knows what may happen ?—perhaps—Oh the enchanting idea !—stranger things have come to pass—My fortune is unexceptionable ; my person, I think, not disagreeable ; and my constitution rather better, since my late illness, than before. At this instant I took up my hat, which lay on the table, close by an old quarto family bible : the corner of my hat in lifting, caught the upper cover of the bible, and threw it back ; when, behold, on the first leaf of the aforesaid bible, these words, in legible characters, saluted my eye—George, the son of Thomas and Alice Sanby, was born in the city

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of London, on the 10th of October, *anno domini* ****—I need not give you the figures; suffice it, to say, that this malicious accident had a great effect upon my mind; it lowered the top-sails of my vanity in a moment, and dispersed all the gay ideas I had assembled before me. I left home somewhat disconcerted. Many jarring sensations distracted my mind, 'till I reached the house, where I was to make my visit.

It is time to inform you, that the mother of this young lady keeps a small shop in ———-street, upon the profits of which, and the interest of a thousand pounds, left her by her deceased husband, she maintains herself and her only daughter. Her husband had been a merchant of some note; but partly by losses in trade, and chiefly by living too expensively for his income, he had it not in his power, to leave his family any thing considerable at his death. This intelligence I artfully got from a friend, in the common way of chat.

I was received by my new friends with the utmost cordiality and respect. The mother was all complaisance and civility; the daughter all sweetness and innocence, heightened by a pleasing vivacity. Our discourse first turned upon the accident of the preceding day. I was happy in finding it attended with no bad consequences to the ladies: and happier still (as I took care to observe) that it was the means of introducing me to such agreeable acquaintance; declaring, at the same time, my intention of taking all the advantage it afforded, by paying my respects to them in occasional visits. To this a reply was made, quite to my satisfaction. In short, I spent the afternoon, and a good part of the evening, most agreeably. I returned home in high spirits, much enamoured with the young lady's person, deportment, and amiable disposition, as far as I could discover it, on so short an acquaintance. I thought no more on the accident of the family bible; but indulged myself, during the remainder of the evening, in a thousand golden dreams.

I amused myself next day with writing this letter; but, if ever you expect to hear from me again, I must insist upon it, that you do not entitle

this, or any subsequent letter, the old bachelor; but only, the bachelor. I am not so old, perhaps, as you may imagine. I dare say, Methuselah, at my age, was only in leading-strings, and beginning to cut his teeth. A man, as hearty and ruddy as I am, cannot, with any propriety, be called old. Old philosopher, old hermit, old conjurer, old married man, may be expressions proper enough; but, I insist upon it, the epithet old should never be applied to a bachelor, unless he be considerably older, than I am as yet—thank God!—You may allege, that, in some of my letters, I have called myself the old bachelor—true—but I was then not well, and a little low-spirited. I have a right to recal the expression. Indulge me in this particular, and you may hear from me again.



To the bachelor.

SINCE the epithet "old" is no longer to be applied to you, sir, I shall endeavour to wave that, and every thing else, in the course of this epistle, that may hurt your sensibility. Though I cannot avoid subjoining, that the above-mentioned epithet, of all others, is thought to convey an indisputable title to its possessor, by having remained some time in his custody. And now, my good friend, let me assure you, that when you gave us an account, a few months past, of your indisposition, I was fearful, lest it should prove a prelude to your quitting the stage, in some shape or other: but, as death is a debt which we must all pay sooner or later, I could, with much more resignation, have submitted to your departure, at that juncture, than your retiring from us, in the way your last paper seems to intimate.

Your predecessor, of most respectable memory, the prince of old bachelors, sir Roger De Coverly, was so great a favourite of Mr. Addison's, who had the sole forming of him, that on being asked by one of that brilliant group of wits that assisted in the *Spectator*, "why sir Roger died so soon?" He answered, that he had killed the knight, to prevent any other person's murdering him.

The spirit of sir Roger rose up in some degree, though in a different

style, in the philanthropic character of uncle Toby; and gleamed out again in the person of Mr. Matthew Bramble, the last production of Dr. Smollet, in his book of Humphrey Clinker. And it by no means entirely vanished from the outlines delineated of the Bachelor in your former letters. Though I will not carry my complaisance so far, as to say, that a double portion of the departed's spirit fell upon the earthly survivor.

But, good Mr. Bachelor, that you may read my letter, free from all prejudice, and know that I take my pen in hand, purely for your benefit, it is absolutely necessary, that some particulars be premised: for, as the purport of this is to divert you from the prosecution of your interesting courtship, it is entirely proper, you should be convinced, that, in this attempt, I have no sinister ends in view. I am neither one of your female cousins, who shewed their officious alacrity to you, in your late illness; nor am I, in any shape, a puppet moving on their wires: I am no discreet virgin, busy in forming schemes upon your sweet person; nor am I a widow, that has just dried up her tears for her last poor dear: neither have I daughter, sister, or kinswoman, for whom I have formed prudent plans of future settlements. I am myself a married woman, and most sincerely hope, I shall never be slung into a situation, that can admit of my committing matrimony again.

But whether this wish flows from my superior felicity, that would never suffer me to think of a second mate, or from a disapprobation of the state itself, is not material to explain: for different effects sometimes arise from the same cause, and different causes sometimes produce the same effects. But, before you proceed definitely in your present important pursuit, take another glance at your family-bible: perhaps it may open on some of Solomon's pithy sentences; he says much on the subject of our sex. But, (with all due deference to sacred writ be it spoken,) suppose the leaf should open in the third chapter of Isaiah; the nineteenth verse, and the four following ones;—would not such a catalogue of female ornaments, as is there exhibited, frighten a plain man from

marriage? And be assured, that the paraphernalia of a modern woman of fashion, is no way inferior, either in elegance or expense, to the toilets of the daughters of Zion; which any genteel milliner of your acquaintance can inform you the truth of. And, I have generally observed, that, when young ladies marry gentlemen of a certain age, they seem to expect a greater profusion of superficial ornaments, than when they connect themselves with persons similar to them, in regard to years. Why it should be so, is a point much too deep, for me to investigate. Probably it takes its source from the bell of motives; that of a desire to appear charming in the eyes of a partner, whose taste is refined by experience, and long contemplation of distant beings unpossessed. Yet I can see those ladies' expenses not confined only to what relates to adorning of their own persons; but extended also to plate, equipage, and finery of every species. However, as money does not appear to be your leading feible, and as your fortune is easy, I do not think this objection will have any great weight, to turn the balance against your present propensity. Therefore, to advance in my obstacles; as every piece of advice, that is given with candour, should take in all the various circumstances, that belong to the party advised; so, I apprehend, Mr. Sanby, with regard to you, that your ideas of connubial bliss may have rose higher, than if you had sooner made the experiment of matrimony; and, although your opinion might not mount so high, as a complete panegyric on the state; yet occasionally, I dare say, your fancy painted other people's happiness superior to your own. However, far be it from me to hint any thing derogatory to a state, of which I acknowledge myself an unworthy member. To illustrate my meaning by an instance or two, which might be selected out of numbers of others: when you, in your solitary mode of life, have come down in a morning, and have not found your breakfast-apparatus regularly arranged, nor a brisk fire kindled; which, I own, of all external little vexations of that kind, is the most trying, in a gloomy morning. Well, methinks I hear you call, till

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you are hoarse, to know, why they are so late with matters ;—in comes old black Prue, the negro wench, lingering and drawing out, "why, mas-ter, the brakfast no quite ready yet ; the wood all wet with snow, and the fire no good." I know, indeed, that, in your heart you esteem Prue, for her late deed of kindness, in furnishing you with some cold water in your fever ; but a man is not always in a humour to recollect good offices ; therefore, with a peevish pish, you bid her get about her business. "Ah ! (think you,) there is neighbour Twist, who has a notable wife : by the time he makes his appearance, his hearth is clean-swept, his andirons and fender as bright as a mirror, his hickory fire of fine dry wood, snapping and crackling like nuts, that the girls burn on all-hallow-eve to try their sweet-hearts ; and his hot toll, and buttered buck-wheat cake placed by his chocolate, that is milked up with a froth like a whipt syllabub ; that's something like living."

Very good, very good, all this. Well, we suppose you mated, and the flurry of visiting, and all the rest of the fuss of that period, vulgarly called the honey-moon, got over, and the family settled in a regular track. You probably an early riser—your wife the reverse ; in such a case, your parlour will look far more forlorn, when you come to take your morning r-past by yourself, than it did formerly, when you had no companion in the house to expect : we will suppose you have turned down your cap, and puss pawing and purring about you for her accustomed dues ; your wife entering, first directs her eyes to the intruding animal, whom she orders into the kitchen : in the same instant of time, you and the cat think (for I am of opinion, dumb-creatures think) "Ah ! times are strangely altered !"

Now for an evening scene. I make no doubt, but very damp cold nights you have felt, these ten years past ; you have imagined that, if you were married, your night-gown would be folded on a chair, and laid by your bed-side ; and that your linen-cap would be regularly shifted every Wednesday and Saturday, and put inside your cotton one, and placed on your pillow ; and the clothes tight tucked

in round you : and the servants in their apartments, and the house quiet, by the time the watchman called ten o'clock ; with many other little subordinate comforts, of a like nature. But, instead of this depend upon it, your wife will have her young friends about her, long after that hour, giggling and tittering at a thousand little freaks and vagaries, that you cannot see into the humour of. In vain may you pull out your watch, or yawn, or complain that you did not sleep well the preceding night : the best you can expect in that case is, that Mrs. Sanby will say, "Pray, my dear, let me be no restraint on your hours : there's the candle, please to go to bed." "Well, but you know, my love, that I can never settle to sleep, if there is any noise in the house, that disturbs my first nap." "Ah, my dear Mr. Sanby, that is a foolish habit you have got : you must break yourself of it." "And, my dear Mrs. Sanby, that is a worse than foolish habit, you have got, of sitting up so late ; it is a very pernicious one : it ruins your health, injures your complexion, and is attended with a thousand bad effects, as has been fully demonstrated by the faculty, from Hippocrates down to Cado-gan. But women think themselves wiser, than all the world besides."—"Pruthee, my dear, don't teize me with the precepts of such old hum-drum preceptors ; I am in perfect health ; and, while I am so, than't change my mode of life, to humour a college of doctors." Now, as you were not in the best of humours, before your wife made use of the epithet, "old," with regard to the physicians ; her applying it just then, though without any ill intention, carries an oblique reflection with it, that stings your sensibility. So you take up the candle, and retire to your own chamber ; perhaps the lady follows reluctantly ; or perhaps she sits up a couple of hours longer, which will appear four to you ; for, every time the door opens, or a foot is on the stairs, you are on the *tiptoe*, with all the organs of hearing on the full stretch. And, in that time, fifty false alarms may be given, before the happy moment arrives, that deposits the wife of your bosom in the same apartment with yourself.

And now, mr. Sanby, as a prudent man always thinks of consequences, especially a person that has seen the world, as you have—Let me see, this is the beginning of January; we suppose your match concluded. By the month of July or August, where may we all be? Such muttering, and blustering, and flustering, as will be going forward. And your lady, very probably, by that time, in a most critical situation. But I shall not pursue that thought any farther; but leave it to your imagination, which, I am sure, is none of the dullest.

I own, I have many pardons to beg of the young lady, that you have honoured with so tender a regard. But I must confess, it is your happiness I have ultimately in view, more than hers; as she has not fastened on my mind, by the claim of prior acquaintance; though it is the case with respect to you.

I could point out a variety of embarrassing circumstances, that might occur in the course of your future connexions; but I fear, already, I have been too prolix. But if you are not too deeply engaged, to retreat with honour, before this reaches you, I must beg you to read with attention, the reflexions on marriage, so judiciously and candidly given us by that accurate and discerning writer, Epaminondas; not written in the common-place, trite style of retailed precepts, but in a manner that shews, he has deeply and intimately investigated the human heart and its affections. Recollect, also, the humorous and picturesque description of the unfortunate trip to New-York, sent for your consolation.

If all these remonstrances fail of effect, I shall not scruple to apply to you with a little variation, those lines, that have been so often quoted, as an apology for the unfortunate part of my sex:

“When bachelors to wedlock stray,

“Their stars are more in fault, than they.”

The stars of their hemisphere, I take it, may be construed a pair of bright eyes in the head of a pretty woman; which have frequently as impulsive and fascinating a power over you men, as blind superstition ever gave to the system of judicial astrology.

But if, after all these warnings, you

still impatiently long for some approaching happy Thursday, (a day, that, in this corner of the world, seems to be peculiarly consecrated to Hymen) and that, or any other day should join you to your Dulcinea, all I have to add, is, may you never look back with regret on your walk to the lower ferry.

Now as I am a stranger to the environs of your city, when I heard of the lower ferry, the thought that struck me, was, that of old Charon: wafting his passengers across the Styx. That being the grand lower ferry of the classical heroes, celebrated by the Greek poets; and no bad emblem of matrimony: as the departed spirits, till they had performed that dernier voyage, could not be placed in the regions of Elysium or Tartarus.

But far be so gloomy an idea removed from a bridegroom's imagination, who ought to think of every thing that is soothing and delightful. I shall not promise you an *epithalamium*; but, when I hear the indissoluble knot is tied, I will heave a sigh, and, in the language of an universally admired writer, say,

“Alas! poor Yorick!”

ASPASIA.

Jan. 8, 1776.

P. S. If you have not already disposed of all your jibes, and your jokes, and your jeers, your quips, and your cranks, a small packet would be very acceptable; any little thing by way of a keep-sake.



The Bachelor to Aspasia.

NUMBER IX.

Madam,

THIS is to let you know, that I am in good health, hoping that these few lines will find your ladyship in the same condition. I received your kind letter; but, to be free with you, I cannot say, I was much pleased with its contents. I think you might have known, by this time, that a bachelor of some standing is not often greatly delighted with the advice or remarks of married ladies, when they are too particular. However, you have made so many declarations of impartiality, that I am obliged, in good manners, to believe, that you were actuated by pure good will, and a desire of saving me from a pit, to-

wards which I was hastening. Therefore, since, (as the saying is) one good turn deserves another, I am disposed to requite your friendship, by bellowing on you also some wholesome advice, which perhaps may be as little acceptable to you, as yours was to me. Should that happen to be the case, it will be, properly speaking, a payment in kind.

In the first place, I would advise you to pronounce your sentences, after you have written them, with an audible voice, in your own hearing. This, I am sure, is not impracticable, or even difficult; for many wives can speak so loud, that a whole family may hear them. The reason of the advice is, that you may be able to judge, whether it is possible for other people to read your writings, so as to make them be understood. I have made several trials upon the following expression in your letter, "that a double portion of the departed's spirit fell upon the earthly survivor;" and I have not met with any reader who could make his hearers understand it, unless they looked upon the book at the same time. The two *s*'s, which belong to different words, cohere so firmly in the utterance, that the effort to distinguish them is painful; the sound is barbarous; and yet the meaning is lost. It is somewhat surprising that a cacophony of this kind should come from a lady; for I remember, dean Swift says, that women, by the more abundant use of vowels and liquids, generally soften the pronunciation of a language, whereas men, by a collision of rough consonants, render it harsh and barbarous.

In the next place, whenever you think proper to use hard or learned phrases, it would be best to call honey out of his study or office, and beg the favour of him, if he can, to explain them fully to you, both as to the meaning, and proper construction. You have been kind enough to inform me, that "the paraphernalia of a modern woman of fashion, is no way inferior to the toilets of the daughters of Zion." Now, madam, give me leave to suggest that the paraphernalia were more things than one; the term is, in the plural number, as grammarians say; and therefore you ought to

have written, "are no way inferior," &c. Had there been any likeness between the words *is* and *are*, I should have imputed the mistake to the carelessness of the corrector of the press; but this could scarcely have been the case, in the present instance. It is certainly a rule with all good writers, when they use words from a foreign language, to give the same attention to their construction in a sentence, as if they belonged originally to their own: for example, we say, *a* phenomenon was clearly explained, or accounted for; *or*, the phenomena were explained.—

I am sorry to add, that you have not only erred in the construction of Greek and Latin words, but of English also, as in the following, "Your ideas of connubial bliss may have *rose* higher," instead of *risen* higher. Several of your sentences want the reddition, as some grammarians call it; for instance, that which begins, "When you, in your solitary mode of life, have come down in a morning, and have not found your breakfast-apparatus regularly arranged, nor a brisk fire kindled, which, I own, of all external little vexations of that kind, is the most trying in a gloomy morning." *When*, in that sentence, we have read a good while, expecting the corresponding inference, *then* are we fairly disappointed, and brought up with a point. But of all your mistakes in phraseology, which are many, I think the most curious is in your description of my night-scene, in which we find the following words, "For every time the door opens, or a foot is on the stairs, you are *on the listen*." Now, madam, be pleased to know, that *listen* is what we call a verb, and not a substantive noun, as you have made it in that sentence. Perhaps you will say, these are mere bagatelles, that ought to be forgiven and passed over, in a lady; to which I answer, in conversation undoubtedly, but not in publication. Therefore, my most dear lady, if ever you and I should happen to meet at a friend's house, or if you will condescend to pay my wife a visit the week after my marriage, the moment that you are *upon the speak*, I will be *upon the listen*. This I hope will satisfy you.

But all is not over. Besides those

literary mistakes, I complain of a great want of precision in your sentiments: you say, "however, as money does not appear to be your *leading foible*." I do not understand that money is either the *leading* or *following foible* of any body. The love of money is the foible of some persons, and the neglect of it, that of others. Money itself is neither virtue nor vice, but may be the object either of a just and lawful, or an irregular and vicious desire. The following sentence also is very remarkable: "however, far be it from me to hint any thing derogatory to a state (meaning that of marriage) of which I acknowledge myself an unworthy member." Your unworthiness I do not pretend to dispute. The term may with great propriety and justice, be applied to many in every state. But the force or precision of calling yourself a member of the married state, I have not yet been able to see. We read sometimes, indeed, of free states and despotic states; and I think, if a man may be said to be a member of the one, he ought to be called a subject of the other. But whether, in your married relation, you are a member of a free state, or the subject of a despotic one, is well known to yourself, and, as you have hinted, is not very material to explain.

As authors, who conceal themselves, have generally some enigmatical meaning, in the choice they make of a feigned signature, I have been considering what could induce you to choose that of Aspasia. She was, I admit, a person of some note, a celebrated courtesan, in Athens. I also confess, that, if we believe some authors of considerable name, she actually became "an unworthy member" of the married state; having, by her arts, induced Pericles, one of the most eminent orators and statesmen of that city, to marry her. It is not, however, easy to conceive, that either of these circumstances recommended her name to you: and therefore I suppose it was her fame for eloquence, in which she is said to have been so eminent, that Pericles was often "upon the listen" to her discourse, and was formed by her in the art of speaking. We are also told, that several other gentlemen in Athens, and even Socrates himself, frequented her house, with

the same view. If my conjecture be right, and you burn with desire to emulate her in this particular, and be the preceptor of the famous politicians of the present important era in America, it is a laudable ambition; and I heartily wish you success. At the same time, may I not be permitted to indulge the sweet hope, that I have by the above strictures, contributed a little to give the finishing polish to your already shining talents; and therefore, that I shall share, in some small measure, in your future fame?

Thus, madam, I have, according to the request in your postscript, sent you a small packet by way of keepsake, although it is a word, that I never heard before, and do not understand. As for *jibes, jokes, jeers, quips, and cranks*, the thoughts of matrimony and your own sweet self, have put them so entirely out of my head, that it is a question, whether ever they will return: but, such as I am, you may always command my service. With my respects to your husband unknown,

I remain,

Madam,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

The BACHELOR.



*Thoughts on the cultivation of vines—
and on the wine trade between
France and America. By M. John
P. Brissot de Warville.*

BEFORE the commencement of the late war, the wines which were most generally consumed in the united states, were, as in England, Oporto, Madeira, and some from Spain. French wines, charged (as in Britain) with enormous duties, were introduced by contraband only.

Liberty has caused those Britannic shackles to disappear. French wines are freely imported into the united states, and pay but little duty.

Such is the state of things; and it leads me to the discussion of three questions:

1. Does it suit the united states to cultivate vines, and to make wine?
2. Ought they not, if they renounce this cultivation, to give the preference to French wines?
3. What means ought the French

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use, in order to obtain and preserve this preference?

It would be absurd to deny, that the united states can produce wine, merely because the experiments, hitherto made, have been fruitless. Extended as they are, and having countries lying still farther to the south than any part of Europe, it is impossible, there should not be, in many places, a soil proper for the vine.

The little success of former attempts may, therefore, without hazarding too much, be attributed either to the ignorance of the cultivator, his want of perseverance, or a bad choice of plants.

However that may be, if the Americans will attend to the advice of able observers, and reap advantage from the errors of other nations, they will carefully avoid the cultivation of vines. In every country, where they have been cultivated, for one man, who has been enriched by them, numbers have been reduced to want and wretchedness.

The long and considerable advances, which vines require—the preparation, preservation and sale of their produce, have put all the good vineyard plots into the hands of rich people, who, not cultivating these themselves, pay the real cultivator very badly. The salary of the wretched vine-dresser is every where unalterably fixed; the time he does not work, is not calculated: and few wine countries offer any employment by which lost time may be filled up; and, besides, the variations in the prices of the most necessary commodities, occasioned by a thousand causes, by the abundance or even scarcity of wine, are not considered for him.

Would it be believed, that abundance is the most unfortunate thing that can happen, either to the proprietor, or cultivator of a vineyard? In fact, the expense of the vintage is increased, and the price of the produce diminishes. There is more work to be done, more hands are necessary, and they are paid more wages;*

NOTE.

* The day's hire of a vintager varies according to the scarcity or abundance of wine, from six to fifty sols.

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more hogsheds are wanted, the expenses of carriage are greater; more capacious store-houses are required: the sale is less, and consequently the income.

The scarcity of wines, or the sterility of the vineyard, is perhaps less unfortunate, than the abundance, at least to the proprietor. But it is cruelly felt by the vine-dresser, and by those wandering troops of day-labourers, whom the barrenness of their native soil, or a bad government, forces to go from home, in search of employment.

The numerous variations, which have an influence upon the produce of the vineyard, make it a very inconvenient property, and, at best, productive of but trifling emolument. The return must be waited for, when much has been gathered; payments must be made, when there has been but little. The proprietor must, therefore, have other resources, whether it be to wait, or to pay. The vine-dresser, who is so unfortunate as to possess a vineyard, without any of these resources, ruins himself sooner or later. He is obliged to sell at a low price, or to consume his wines himself; thence results his stupidity and idleness, his discouragement, his dull and quarrelsome humour, and especially the ruin of his health. Too much wine, in the time of abundance,—no bread, in that of scarcity; such are the two alternatives which divide his life.

For this reason it is, that, countries covered with vineyards, are, in general, more thinly inhabited, and present a picture of a degenerated, weak and wretched population. For

NOTE.

The price of hogsheds has likewise variations from three to fifteen livres. There are years wherein the price of the hogshed is higher than that of the wine which it contains.

§ The situation of a vine-dresser is different according to the custom of countries. In some he is hired only by the day, and there he is completely wretched. In others, as in Switzerland, he has half of the produce. But an unjust and tyrannical tax, laid on by the proprietors themselves, reduces this half to a quarter.

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the most part, they want hands to cultivate the vineyard, in a season when the work cannot be delayed. It is done by those bands of strangers, of whom I have already spoken, and who come to sell some days work to the poor vine-dresser.

The cultivation of a vineyard cannot be better compared than to those manufactures, of which the hopes of success are founded upon the low price of workmanship, and which enrich none but the undertakers, and retailers or shopkeepers.

The pernicious influence of the vine is extended, in wine countries, even to those who do not cultivate it; for the cheapness of wine leads to excesses; and, consequently, it becomes a poison for all ranks of society; for those, especially, who find in it a means of forgetting their sorrows.

Therefore, as I have already remarked, industry carefully avoids these dangerous vineyard plots. None of the great manufactures, whose success is the consequence of order, assiduity and labour, are seen in the neighbourhood of them.

The result of all these observations is, that the Americans ought to proscribe the cultivation of the vine.

It would infallibly render miserable that class of society, that would be employed in it; and in a republic there should be none, who are wretched, because want obliges them to disturb civil order, or, what is still worse, they are at the command of the rich, by whom they are paid, and who may make use of them, to destroy the liberties of the republic.*

Considered, with respect to the proprietors, the vine ought still to be proscribed by the united states; because every profession or calling, susceptible of too great a variation of fortune, which sometimes heaps up riches on one person, and at other times reduces to indigence individuals in easy circumstances, ought carefully to be avoided. Oeconomy, simplicity, private virtues, are scarcely consistent with such rapid fluctuations of property.

NOTE.

* The mean language of shopkeepers, who humbly offer their merchandise, has already begun to find its way into the American papers,

They are found in the bosom of mediocrity only, from easiness of circumstances, founded upon that kind of toil, whose produce is constant.† Such is that of agriculture in general; it embraces divers productions, which, in case of accident, replace each other.‡

Finally, if it be insisted, that wine is necessary to man, let it not fluster him; it should be used with moderation; and its dearth alone may oblige men to be moderate in the use of it. It being greatly the interest of the American republics to remove all excesses from individuals,—in order to prevent this degeneracy, they ought to keep perpetually at a distance from them a commodity, whose dearthness will prevent the abuse of it, whose cultivation would render it cheap; and consequently bring on dangerous excesses both to policy and morals.§

The catalogue which I have just gone over, of the evils and abuses, occasioned by the culture of vines, will not induce the French to destroy

NOTES.

† The inhabitants of India are almost all husbandmen or weavers, which is the reason why private morals have been better preserved among those people than any where else, in spite of the excesses of despotism.

‡ What recompense would be considerable enough for an ingenious man, who should furnish society with the means of preserving potatoes for several years; especially if the process were simple and not expensive? In that case, want would be no longer feared. The embarrassment about the legislation of corn would disappear, and want and beggary perhaps be driven from among men.

§ It will be objected, that men employed in agriculture have need of wine to support them in their labour. This is but an opinion: there are found, in countries where it is least used, vigorous and indefatigable men. In truth, wine contains an active spirit which may supply the want of substantial aliment, and it is for this reason, the peasants have recourse to wine or brandy, which is more within their reach. Give them meat and potatoes, and they will easily do without wine.

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their vineyards: but it ought, at least, to excite them to increase in foreign markets the consumption of wines, in order to keep up their price, and consequently to diminish a part of the evils, which they produce. This will be doubly advantageous, by an additional exterior profit, and a diminution of interior ill: nobody will deny, that French wines must obtain the preference in the united states. They are the most agreeable, the most wholesome, if moderately used; the least prejudicial, if used to excess. They ought to be the basis of our exportations to America; no nation can raise a competition with us. Lord Sheffield himself pays this homage to our wines; but in order to assure to them this advantage for ever, the art of making, preserving, and transporting them, must be improved.

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Hints, scraps, &c.

Coal.

THE present trade laws of France permit coal to be carried from America, to their free ports in the West-Indies. The Virginia pits supply it at seven-pence sterling per bushel.

The large sugar ships from France, going to Virginia with salt, &c. might take out coal, lumber, &c. to their islands, in little more time, than they employ in the passage from France to the islands.

Skins.

The people, in some parts of Europe, wear stockings made of sheep-skin and buckskin; and in other parts they wear waistcoats of skins dressed in the hair.

Glass.

It is highly proper that the people of the united states, who have immense forests to clear, should establish glass manufactories, and increase them as much as possible. The labour employed to destroy the woods, for the clearing of lands, at the same time that it disposes the land to culture, will serve for the production of a very extensive object of manufacture; therefore the utility of this destruction is of a double nature. It cannot be doubted, but we shall one

day be able to furnish Europe with glass-ware.

Hops.

American hops cannot be imported into Great-Britain*; but still they deserve more attention, than they have hitherto received from the American farmers. At the present price, 14d. to 15d. per lb. they must be immenely profitable, and were found a very beneficial article, before the revolution, at 6d. and 7d.

Solitary confinement.

If any stimulus is requisite to urge an universal adoption of solitary confinement, for persons committed to prison, and, in particular, separate rooms for those who for trivial offences may be immured within the walls thereof; we imagine, no greater can be offered, than the dying words of two convicts, lately executed at Limerick for burglary—"We," said they, at the place of execution, "were at first committed to the city jail, on suspicion of crimes we never committed, among a company of wretches, whose whole scheme was, when they should be liberated, whom they should plunder; thus, when acquitted, we came out fully ripened for all manner of iniquity."

Knitting stockings.

The knitting of stockings deserves the greatest encouragement. It peculiarly recommends itself by its great utility to the poor, from the ease with which it is practised, and the immediate application which may be made of it. It is so easily practised, that a child of five years old, or an old woman of a hundred, may work at it; it may be performed, when walking about the streets, or when confined to a sick room, and by persons blind, lame, or bed-ridden.

In the north of England, plough boys are taught its use, and drive their horses with their needles and worked in their hands; and women, after a day's labour in the field, may work at it without any fatigue, till they go to rest. This is not the case, I believe, with any other manufacture,

NOTE.

* The assertion in our last, page 477, that hops from this country were admissible, free of duty, into England, proves to be erroneous.—C.

and therefore its general use should be strongly inculcated : as, to a poor person, it would be a never-failing source of occupation where manufactures of this kind could be carried on. And it would be an immediate application of a useful part of dress to be worn as soon as executed, even where the public were not interested in its behalf.

A remedy for corns on the feet.

ROAST a clove of garlic on a live coal, or in hot ashes ; apply it to the corn, and fasten it on with a piece of cloth. This must be made use of at the moment of going to bed. It softens the corn to such a degree, as to loosen, and wholly remove it in two or three days, however inveterate. Afterwards wash the foot with warm water. In a little time the indurated skin, that forms the horny tunic of the corn, will disappear, and leave that part as clean and smooth as if it had never been attacked with any disorder. It is right to renew this application two or three times in twenty-four hours.

Cure for frost bites.

RUB the part affected three or four times before the fire with the fat of dunghill fowls—then rub it with flannel, and wrap it up. In two or three days the cure will be effected.

A recipe for bitters, to prevent the fever and ague, and all other febrile fevers.

TAKE of common meadow calamus, cut into pieces, of rue, wormwood and camomile, or centaury or horehound, of each two ounces ; add to them a quart of spring water, and take a wine-glass full of it every morning fasting. This cheap and excellent infusion, is far more effectual in preventing fevers than raw spirits, or the strongest bitters made with spirits ; both of which make the breath offensive : and those who use them are very apt to get into a habit of drinking spiritous liquors.

SELECT POETRY.

Ode, distributed among the spectators, during the federal procession, at New-York, July 1788.

I.
EMERGING from old ocean's bed,
 When fair Columbia rear'd her awful head
 To his * enraptur'd view, whose dauntless soul
 Heav'n had impell'd t' explore the unknown goal ;
 The genius of the solitary waste,
 With ecstacy the godlike man embrac'd,
 Prophetic of her future state :
 And smil'd serene, and blest'd th' approaching day,
 When older nations, envious, should survey
 Our wisdom, virtue, pow'r, how great !
 But still she sigh'd, and dropt a tear,
 And still she entertain'd a fear,
 Anticipating what she knew too well ;
 And what, this memorable day, the muse
 With retrospective ken reluctant views,
 And this best epocha forbids to tell †.

II.
 Distress'd she saw—but, with predictive eyes,
 Through scenes of horror future bliss descries ;
 Sees greater good from partial evil rise,—

NOTES.

* Columbus. † The late war,

She knew, how empires rise and fall ;
That ev'ry change on this terrestrial ball
Is wrought by heav'n's command,
Nor can its will withstand—
Submissive, she that pow'r ador'd,
The sov'reign universal Lord,
Almighty, wise and good !
Whose eye omniscient saw 'twas right,
We should attain that glorious height,
Through seas of kindred blood.

III.

And, lo ! the all-important period's nigh,
And swells the mighty theme—
An era, greater than the golden age,
Of which the poets dream ;
And adds a wond'rous, and illustrious page
To this terrestrial globe's vast history.
Begin, oh muse,
And far diffuse
Th' inspiring news,
To earth's remotest bound :
Throughout the world let joy like ours be found,
And echo catch the animating sound ;
Now all our highest hopes are crown'd,
Through time's incessant round,
Fame shall resound
This long desir'd event,
And tell what mighty blessings heav'n has sent !
Immortal fame,
Whose loud acclaim
Is deathless as the poet's song,
To countless ages shall the theme prolong.

IV.

Ten sov'reign states, in friendship's league combin'd,
Blest with a government, whose arms embrace
The dearest int'rests of the human race,
This festive day, to joy resign'd,
This signal day we celebrate—
Let ev'ry patriot heart dilate,
Let ev'ry care be banish'd far ;
Nor aught the honours of this solemn season mar.
Behold th' admir'd procession move along,
Our sister states, the happy ten, to greet—
What animation in the crowded street !
What joy resounds from ev'ry tongue !
In beautiful arrangement, lo !
Majestically slow,
Assembled thousands—fed'ral band—
Advancing, hand in hand—
Heart-cheering sight !—ne'er did such loud applause
Great Alexander's pompous entries crown ;
Ne'er did the victor gain such true renown—
This grand display can boast a nobler cause.

V.

Hail liberty, heav'n's darling child !
Young, smiling cherub, virtuous, mild !
We feel, we feel thy pow'r divine !
These solemnities are thine !

Our hearts o'erflow ;
 Our bosoms glow ;
 Sorrow fades ;
 Joy pervades
 Th' intoxicated senses !
 Floods of transport fill the soul,
 And melancholy's haggard train control ;
 For now our country's happiness commences !

VI.

Joy to the union ! Fair Columbia hail !—
 Distraction in our councils now shall fail,
 And strength, respect, and wisdom join'd, prevail !
 Justice shall lift her well-poiz'd scale ;
 With placid aspect, peace her wand extend ;
 And white-rob'd virtue from the sky descend ;
 Genius shall mount a glorious tow'ring height,
 By genial science foster'd and refin'd ;
 And never-dying wreaths our offspring's temples bind—
 While dwindling Europe, sickens at the sight,
 Arts, still increasing, shall our clime adorn,
 Success and wealth crown millions yet unborn,
 Glorious and smiling as the op'ning morn !
 And, if fair industry but prompt the hand,
 The cultur'd earth shall teem at their command,
 And health and plenty bless heav'n's fav'rite land.
 Pomona's charge shall grow luxuriant here,
 And bounteous Ceres crown the blissful year ;
 Commerce shall raise her languid head—
 The nation's dignity, which with her fled,
 Triumphant shall her place resume ;
 And navies flart from the tall forest's gloom.

VII.

Joy to our far-fam'd chief ! whose peerless worth
 Makes monarchs sicken at their royal birth ;
 And thou, grown dim with honourable age,
 Whose lore shall grace the scientific page,
 Franklin, the patriot, venerable sage,
 Of philosophic memory !—And thou*
 Our city's boast, to whom so much we owe—
 In whom, tho' last and youngest of the three,
 No common share of excellence we see :
 In ev'ry grateful heart thou hast a place :
 Nor time, nor change thy image can erase.
 All hail, ye champions in your country's cause !
 Soon shall that country ring with your applause—
 With such, and with ten thousand patriots more,
 To what vast fame this western world shall soar !
 Discord shall cease, and perfect union reign ;
 And all confess that sweetly-pow'rful chain,
 The fed'ral system, which, at once, unites
 The thirteen states, and all the people's rights.
 Oh, may those rights be sacred to the end,
 And to our late posterity descend—
 That beauteous structure flourish and expand,
 And ceaseless blessings crown this happy land !

NOTE.

- * Alexander Hamilton, esquire.

Address to rum.

GREAT spirit, hail!—confusion's angry fire,
And, like thy parent Bacchus, born in fire;
The jail's decoy; the greedy merchant's lure;
Disease of money, but reflexion's cure.

We owe, great dram! the trembling hand to thee,
The headstrong purpose, and the feeble knee;
The loss of honour, and the cause of wrong;
The brain enchanted, and the fault'ring tongue;
Whilst fancy flies before thee unconfin'd,
Thou leav'st disabled prudence far behind.
In thy pursuit, our fields are left forlorn,
Whilst giant weeds oppress the pigmy corn.
Thou throw'st a mist before the planter's eyes;
Rust eats the idle plough; the harvest dies.

By thee inspir'd, no pinching frosts we fear:
'Tis ever warm and calm, when thou art near:
On the bare earth, for thee, expos'd we lie,
And brave the rigors of th' inclement sky.
Like those who did in ancient times repent,
We sit in ashes, and our clothes are rent.



On miss H——

WHEN Cupid saw his pow'r decay'd,
On earth, and in the realms above;
"Let Phillis be!" he smiling said—
Phillis appear'd—and all was love.



On miss M——

TO sing the beauteous Mira's praise
My muse in humble measures try'd;
When, list'ning to my feeble lays,
Apollo thus indignant cry'd:

Audacious poet, cease thy song!
Nor dare attempt, on mortal lyre,
Immortal charms!—such themes belong
To Phœbus, and the virgin choir.

I. C.



The real strength of a nation.

WHAT constitutes a state?—
"Not high-rais'd battlement, or labour'd mound,
"Thick wall or moated gate:
"Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd:
"Not bays, and broad-arm'd ports,
"Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride:
"Not starr'd and spangled courts,
"Where low-brow'd balenefs wafts perfume to pride;
"No:—men—high-minded men,
"With pow'rs as far above dull beasts endu'd,
"In forest, brake, or den,
"As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;—
"Men, who their duties know,
"But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain;
"Prevent the long-aim'd blow,

"And crush the tyrant, while they rend the chain.
 "These constitute a state;
 "And sov'reign law, that state's collected will,
 "O'er thrones and kings elate,
 "Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.—
 "Smit by her sacred frown,
 Fell despotism resign'd his iron rod:
 And Britain's once-bright crown
 Hides his faint rays, and trembles at her nod.
 Such is Columbia's land,
 Fairer than e'en Britannia's boasted shore!
 Here freedom takes her stand,
 And bids Americans be slaves no more!
 "Since all must life resign,
 "Those sweet rewards, which decorate the brave,
 " 'Tis folly to decline,
 "And steal inglorious to the silent grave."



The social fire.

WHEN beating rains and pinching winds,
 At night attack the lab'ring hinds,
 And force them to retire—
 How sweet they pass their time away,
 In sober talk or rustic play,
 Beside the social fire.

There many a plaintive tale is told
 Of those, who, ling'ring in the cold,
 With cries and groans expire.
 The mournful story strikes the ear;
 They heave the sigh, they drop the tear,
 And bless their social fire.

The legendary tale comes next,
 With many an artful phrase perplex,
 That well the tongue might tire;
 The windows shake, the shutters crack;
 Each thinks the ghost behind his back,
 And hitches to the fire.

Or now perhaps some homely swain,
 Who fann'd the lover's flame in vain,
 And glow'd with warm desire,
 Relates each stratagem he play'd,
 To win the coy, disdainful maid,
 And eyes the social fire.

To these succeeds the jocund song,
 From lungs less musical than strong,
 And all to mirth aspire;
 The humble roof returns the sound,
 The social can move briskly round,
 And brighter burns the fire.

Oh! grant, kind heav'n, a state like this,
 Where simple ignorance is bliss;—
 'Tis all that I require.
 Then, then—to share the joys of life,
 I'd seek a kind, indulgent wife,
 And bless my social fire.

To obscurity—by a lady of Maryland.

VIRGIN meek, of modest men,
Tranquil air, and brow serene;
Come, Obscurity, sweet maid;
Wrap me in thy peaceful shade!

Come in all thy simple charms;
Come, and fold me in thy arms;
Lead me to thy low-roof'd cell,
Woodland walk, or rocky dell!

Adulation's croud profane,
Int'rest, and her fordid train,
Pining care, and wild desire,
From thy hallow'd walks, retire!

Come, thou dear, pacific maid—
Far from pomp and vain parade;—
Where the murmur'ing waters moan,
By the rock with moss o'ergrown;

Thither by the stillness led,
Soft recline thy gentle head;
Come, and with thee let me rest,
Happy, happy, on thy breast!



On the present scarcity of specie in America.

WHILE freedom smiles on fair Columbia's plains,
Where gentle peace, in god-like triumph, reigns;
While plenty show'rs her blessings o'er the land,
And golden harvests fill each lab'rer's hand;
While justice dwells in ev'ry ruler's heart,
And virtue aids him to perform his part;—
Sweet *Poverty*! thy face we wish to see;
Our injur'd country long has wanted thee:
Thy child, industry, claims thy tender care;
Extravagance has driv'n her to despair;
And pride and wealth, in curled plots combin'd,
With fixt enchantments keep her still confin'd;
At thy approach, pride shall no more be found;
Her sister, wealth, shall feel a deadly wound;
Industry then reliev'd, shall raise her head,
And o'er our fields her happy influence shed.



Qualifications, required in a wife:—addressed to a young lady.

SHOULD you ask me, dear Mira, what charms I require
To relish the conjugal life;
Nor beauty, nor titles, nor wealth I desire,
To bias my choice in a wife.
The charms of a face may occasion a sigh;
The costly allurements of art
May yield a short moment of joy to the eye,
But give no delight to the heart.

Would equipage, splendor, or noble descent
Bring comfort wherever they fall:—
Could these add a drop to the cup of content,
I'd gladly partake of them all.

But vain the assistance, that riches bestow,
 The raptures that beauty imparts,
 To soften the painful reflexions of woe,
 Or banish diltrefs from our hearts.

Then give me the temper unclouded and gay,
 The countenance ever serene ;
 To cheer with sweet converse, as youth wears away ;
 And dissipate anger and spleen ;
 Whose smiles may endear and enliven the hours,
 Retirement shall oft set apart ;
 Whose virtues may sooth, when disquietude sours,
 And tenderness cherish the heart .

For fortune, be honour her portion assign'd ;
 For beauty, bright health's rosy bloom ;
 Let justice and candour ennoble her mind,
 And cheerfulness sorrow consume :
 Thus form'd, would she share, with me, life's little store,
 It's mixture of pleasure and smart,
 She'd ever continue, 'till both were no more,
 The constant delight of my heart.

*On the frost.*

NOW baleful mists no more prevail,
 Nor Auster's dreaded breath,
 Who spreads, in his contagious gale,
 Variety of death.

The summer's agues, that invade
 The student's close recess,
 Nor art could conquer with its aid,
 Nor gen'rous wine repress.

But see ! the salutary cold
 Shall drooping vigour rear ;
 Shall brace the young, and give the old
 To breathe another year.

Man feels alone the partial good ;
 Whilst all the feather'd kind,
 And beasts that range the pathless wood,
 No warm retreats can find.

See, where the dreary scenes extend,
 Defac'd with lifeless trees ;
 Whence icicles in streams depend,
 Whilst all their juices freeze.

The fish with labour draw their breath,
 (On fins no longer fleet)
 And linger out a hopeless death,
 Beneath the scater's feet.

In rapid glide, with sport elate,
 He skims the slipp'ry way ;
 And thoughtless of the victim's fate,
 Enjoys his frosty day.

On suicide.

WHEN fate, in angry mood, has frown'd,
And gather'd all his storms around,
The sturdy Romans cry :
“ The great, who'd be releas'd from pain,
“ Falls on his sword, or opens a vein,
“ And bravely dares to die.”

But know, beneath life's heavy load,
In sharp affliction's thorny road,
'Midst thousand ills that grieve ;
Where dangers threaten, cares infest,
Where friends forsake, and foes molest,
'Tis braver far—to live !



Conjugal love.

A WAY—let nought, to love displeasing,
My Winifreda, move your care ;
Let nought delay the heav'nly blessing—
Nor squeamish pride, nor gloomy fear.

What, though no grants of royal donors,
With pompous titles, grace our blood ?—
We'll shine in more substantial honours :
And, to be noble, we'll be good.

Our name, while virtue thus we tender,
Will sweetly sound, where'er 'tis spoke :
The rich, the great, shall think, with wonder,
How they respect such little folk.

What, tho' from fortune's lavish bounty
No mighty treasures we possess ?—
We'll find, within our pittance, plenty ;
And be content, without excess.

Still shall each returning season
Sufficient for our wishes give ;
For we will live a life of reason :
And that's the only life to live.

Thro' youth and age, in love excelling,
We'll, hand in hand, together tread ;
Sweet-smiling peace shall crown our dwelling,
And babes, sweet-smiling babes, our bed.

How should I love the pretty creatures,
While round my knees they fondly cling ;
To see them look their mother's features,
To hear them lisp their mother's tongue.

And when with envy, time transported,
Shall think to rob us of our joys,
You'll, in your girls, again be courted ;
And I'll go wooing in my boys.

Foreign intelligence.

London, September 17.

THE parties concerned in the new plot against the prince of Orange, seem to be of the first rank; they have made a contract for 4000 horses, and enlisted above 6000 fusileers, who were to fall on the Orange party at the fair time, which was to be in the latter end of this month. A Mr. W—a principal horse-dealer, and a Mr. de V—t—s, who was to be the colonel of the horse, have been removed under a guard from Amsterdam to the Hague; and above one hundred suspicious people have been put into close confinement.

The very existence of Poland, as a separate state, depends upon the prevention of the downfall of the Ottoman empire; for, if the Turks, the only neighbours who can support her against the imperial confederates, and prevent another and final partition of her provinces, were once driven from Europe, we should hear no more of the king or republic of Poland, except in the history of past times.

Last week, the rev. dr. O'Leary was presented to the king at the levee. His majesty conversed with him some time, and paid him many handsome compliments, on the moral and philanthropic tendency of his writings.

Oct. 1. The definitive treaty of alliance between the king of Prussia and the king of Great-Britain, signed at Berlin, the 13th of August, 1788, was received yesterday morning by express.

Though the emperor has demanded of the court of France, the 18,000 foot and 6000 horse, which the latter is bound, on requisition, to send to the assistance of the former; yet his majesty did not require that they should be sent immediately, but only in case he should be attacked by any power, with which he is not at present at war.

The French ministry are at present in a very critical situation, with respect to the above requisition. The queen, who favours her brother to the utmost of her power, advised an answer to be sent to Vienna, with positive assurances, that the treaty of 1765 should be faithfully executed,

and that the 24,000 troops should be ready, whenever the emperor should stand in need of their assistance. On the other hand, the English minister at Paris has presented a memorial to the count de Montmorin, the French minister for foreign affairs, which states, "that his master cannot, consistently with his engagements with Holland, or the interests of his subjects, see a French army in possession of the Flemish provinces, out of which it had always been an object with England, to keep all French forces; that the balance of power required, that these provinces should stand as a barrier between France and Holland; and the king his master could not, and would not see that balance destroyed." Thus pressed between the courts of Vienna and London, the French court remains irresolute, perplexed and embarrassed.

Oct. 2. The king of Sweden does not seem likely to support the character of some of his great predecessors. He began his operations, by land and sea, with great alacrity and confidence; but, except his naval engagement, nothing seems to have been well conducted. He thought to take Russian Finland, and even Petersburg, by a *coup de main*; but his troops have done nothing; they have rather lost than gained any advantages; and now feel the want of necessities, from a hasty and improvident invasion of an enemy's country. The king begins, they say, to repent; talks of being open to a reasonable peace; but as that cannot be so soon arranged, the letters, by this mail, say, that a truce of two months is in agitation; if that takes place, it will be too late to recommence hostilities this year, and probably a peace will be settled in the winter. There is certainly a strong party in Sweden, against the war; and above seventy officers have left the army, saying, that the king had no right to commence hostilities, without convening the states, and taking their opinion of the matter. This is the line of the constitution; but the officers ought to have proposed their difficulties, before they were brought on an enemy's land. The king of Sweden has, however, gained a great point for the Turks; he has certainly prevented the Russian fleet from sailing

out of the Baltic to the Mediterranean this summer; for it must now be too late for that expedition to take place.

America seems, at length, after a long suspense, to be on the point of establishing its general government. By the last accounts, seven of the states had acceded to the plan proposed for that purpose.

The previous consent of two thirds of the whole is, however, necessary; and as no doubt is entertained of the concurrence of South Carolina and Virginia, the congress will soon perfect the constitution of the confederated republic.

In the mean time, civilization is every where extending its influence: the institution of universities, and philosophical societies, begins to dissipate that fanaticism, which has long prevailed in several of the provinces; and such is the ardour of improvement at Philadelphia, that the city and the whole province are now diligently employed in stretching roads through the country, for above 150 miles. A spirit of agriculture seems, indeed, to be disseminated over all the states. In a little time, they will, doubtless, turn their attention to the improvement of manufactures for internal consumption; though their good friends, the French, are doing all in their power, to dissuade them from this undertaking.

Oct. 6. The remonstrances of our ministers to the cabinet of Versailles, have had the desired effect: the French camp in Flanders is now breaking up, and the men going into winter quarters; and, to contradict every opinion of their being quickly assembled again, the regiments are ordered to different parts of the kingdom.

The Danish troops are ready, according to the stipulation with Russia; but their condition and appointment, are but ill reported.

The loan of 100 millions, if such a loan can be obtained by Mr. Neckar, will shew indeed the vigour of his talents, and the reliance on the proper use of them—but they shew also the extreme necessities of the country, so far beyond even the stated excess!

Spain continues, in this respect, utterly untoward to the family compact—an ally not at all pecuniary.

Of the present loan, Spain as yet has refused to pay any part.

Oct. 7. The parliaments of France are in vacation till November; but it seems, are determined to enregister no pecuniary edict whatever, till the meeting of the states-general; a circumstance which keeps the stocks down, in spite of the public confidence in the minister.

The Russians, in respect to captures at sea, have been more successful than the Swedes.

The *St. Bartholomew*, the last Swedish ship taken by the Russians, was valued at 60,000 rix-dollars.

The following is an exact and just account of the proceedings of the present belligerent powers, as can be collected from their gazettes, and other information:

Russia—engaged in a war with the Turks, with a view to extirpate them from Europe, add the Crimea empire to her dominions, and display, if possible, the black eagle on the towers of Constantinople.

Germany—engaged in the same cause, but without the same original pretences for making war.

Sweden—taking advantage of the war in which Russia is involved, aspiring to recover the whole of Finland, but wanting the means, and deterred by her officers.

The Ottoman power, supported secretly by every other power in Europe, except her declared enemies, Russia and Germany;—contending with these two upon the Turkish territories, and provided with every advantage, which a knowledge of the country, and resources of men and arm, unknown to any other nation, can give.

As to the progress of this war—the Turks have not lost an inch of ground; the imperial armies have expended an immense treasure, have lost many thousands of their troops by disease, and have gained—little reputation.

Oct. 9. Affairs in the North are taking a new turn, and the consequences may be lamentably serious to all Europe. What Holland was last year, Sweden is at present—a state of confusion and rebellion, engendered and supported by the intrigues of the French court, and the prevalence of Russian politics. The burghers at Stockholm are arming themselves, under the pretence of internal safety,

in the absence of the troops, but more certainly for the purpose of attempting a revolution. The officers of the army in Finland, independent of their sovereign, sent a deputation to the empress of Russia, making proposals for a truce in that quarter, until they shall have concerted measures for subjugating their king, or for reducing him to the necessity of abandoning the war, which, they allege, was rashly and unjustly commenced on his part. They declare, that the king, by his late measures, has broken the compact between sovereign and subject, and therefore they hold it their duty to concert measures for the safety of the state. When the king of Sweden heard of the disaffection of his troops in Finland, and the propositions of his officers to the empress for a cessation of hostilities, he fainted away, and was with difficulty aroused to a sense of his alarming situation. Thus circumstanced, there is no doubt of the empress's acquiescence, nor of her endeavours to fan the flame of discord. She has already communicated her terms of pacification with Sweden, the tenor of which is, to grant a general amnesty for what is past; only on condition, however, that the Swedish government shall accede to the general confederacy which has so long been forming between France, Spain, Germany, Russia and Denmark.

Oct. 12. The campaign of this year must now be nearly, if not altogether, at an end. The Austrians who fought for honour, have gained some. The empress, who contended for territory, has not gained an inch—while the coffers of both must have been pretty well drained.

The grand vizir is the Washington of Turkey. While he employs the cool prudence of the American Fabius, in not hazarding any thing, where little is to be got, he does not flinch from an engagement, but rather encourages it; convinced that his resources can much sooner supply any loss, than those of his enemies.

Should the states of Sweden negotiate with the empress, and acknowledge, as it is said they are ready to do, the impolicy of the war the king entered into, this will amount to such a revolution, as will reverse all that was done in 1773, when they limited their

republican form, and made the king almost absolute—reserving, indeed, only the power which they now seem disposed to employ.

Oct. 14. Advice is this instant received of a general and bloody engagement between the imperialists and the grand vizir's army; the conflict was dreadful: the palm of victory was very obstinately contended for—and the event was long doubtful. It terminated, however, in the defeat of the Ottoman army. The emperor was, the whole time, in the hottest part of the battle, had two horses shot under him, and received a wound in the shoulder, but it is not thought to be dangerous. It is probable, this decisive engagement will put a period to the campaign.

The carnage was uncommonly great on both sides: the number of Turks, killed and wounded, is prodigious.

Letters were yesterday received in the city from Mr. Fenwick, his majesty's consul at Elsinour, which state, that 6000 Danish auxiliary troops, on their march to Udewalla from Frederickshall, had fallen in with 600 Swedes, who, disputing their passage, a skirmish ensued, when ten Swedes were killed and the remainder taken prisoners.

The approaching assembly of the states general, forms the principal topic of conversation. It is expected that M. Calonne will then meet M. Neckar, and defend himself from the charges brought against him. He has pledged himself to attend on that occasion, and for that purpose, if his majesty will give him unequivocal proofs of protection.



American intelligence.



Philadelphia, December 20.

Acts and proceedings of the synod of New-York and Philadelphia, 1788.

THE synod took into consideration the draught of the form of government and discipline of the presbyterian church, in the united states of America—and having gone through the same, did, on a review of the whole, ratify and adopt the said form of government and discipline (as now,

altered and amended,) as the constitution of the government and discipline of the presbyterian church in America : and recommend to all their inferior judicatures, strictly to observe the rules laid down therein, in all ecclesiastical proceedings : and they order, that a correct copy be printed ; and that the Westminster confession of faith, as now altered, be printed, in full, along with it, as making a part of the constitution.

Resolved, that the true meaning of the above ratification, by the synod, is, that the form of government and discipline, and the confession of faith, as now ratified, is to continue to be our constitution, and the confession of our faith and practice, unalterably ; unless two-thirds of the presbyteries, under the care of the general assembly, shall propose alterations or amendments ; and such alterations or amendments shall be agreed to, and enacted, by the general assembly.

The synod proceeded to consider the draught of a directory, for the worship of God, reported by the committee appointed last year. Dr. Witherspoone, dr. Smith, and mr. Woodhull, were appointed to revise the chapter of the directory, entitled, "of the mode of inflicting church censures," and to lay it before the general assembly, at their first meeting, to be by them considered, and finally enacted.

The synod also appointed the said committee, to revise that part of the directory which respects public prayer, and prayers to be used on other occasions ; and to prepare it for printing, with the form of government and discipline.

The synod, having gone through the consideration of the draught of a directory for worship, did approve and ratify the same ; and do hereby appoint the said directory, as now amended, to be the directory of the worship of God, in the presbyterian church, in the united states of America. They also took into consideration the Westminster larger and shorter catechisms ; and having made a small amendment to the larger, did approve, and do hereby approve and ratify the said catechisms, as the catechisms of the presbyterian church, in the said united states ; and order, that the said directory and catechisms be bound up in the

same volume with the confession of faith, and the form of government and discipline ; and that the whole be considered, as the standard of our doctrine, government, discipline and worship, agreeably to the resolutions of the synod, at their present session.

Ordered, that dr. Duffield, mr. Arnstrong, and mr. Greene, be a committee, to superintend the printing and publishing the above-said confession of faith and catechisms ; with the form of government and discipline : and the directory for the worship of God, (as now adopted and ratified by the synod) as the constitution of the presbyterian church, in the united states of America ; and that they divide the several parts into chapters and sections, properly numbered.

We learn from the western country, that on the 17th of October, a party of Indians, under the command of John Watts, amounting to about 300, attacked Galespy's fort, on Hollstein ; and that the small party in the fort were, after a gallant defence, obliged to surrender. They were about thirty persons, mostly women and children, all of whom fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of the savages. This party of Indians is thought to be a detachment from a large body encamped at Chota, composed of both Creeks and Cherokees, who are said to be under the direction of Alexander M'Gillivray. From all accounts, it appears, that we may shortly expect to hear of a bloody scene in that quarter. The militia have already turned out, determined to defend their country to the last extremity. A very large body of Indians have lately crossed the Tenafsee, in two divisions ; and have destroyed two or three settlements, on the north side of Hollstein.

A letter from Washington county, dated November 6, says, "the Indians have been very troublesome in these parts during the whole summer and fall. They, at one time, killed 16 men out of a company of 34 rangers who were out on duty : at another time, very lately, a body of 4 or 500 Indians attacked and took a fort on the frontiers, in which were between 40 and 50 persons. They destroyed the fort ; and, with their usual inhumanity, either burned or butchered people of every age and sex."

At a town meeting of the freemen of the town of Providence, legally assembled at the state house in said town, on the 6th day of December, 1788, it was resolved, "That the deputies, appointed to represent this town, in the honourable general assembly, of this state, be, and they are hereby, instructed to use their influence in the said general assembly, to be holden on the last Monday in December instant, that a state convention be held in this state, as soon as may be, agreeably to the recommendation of the convention of the united states, passed on the 17th day of September, A. D. 1787, and transmitted to the legislature of this state, by a resolution of congress of the 28th day of the same September, for the purpose of considering and adopting the new constitution, and also of proposing such amendments as they think necessary."

Similar instructions, we hear, have been given by some other towns—but a large majority are for appointing delegates to attend the convention of revision, whenever and wherever it shall meet.

A gentleman arrived at New-York from the Mississippi says, that Oliver Pollock, esq. was safely arrived in the month of October in that river: and that marks of distinction were shewn him by the governor of New Orleans by an order lodged with the commander of the Balize, (the mouth of the river) to supply him with the king's barge, men, &c. to take him to town.

The exportation of rum and spirits from the British West India Islands to the united states of North America is prohibited by a late order from the British government: a vessel that was loaded with rum about the latter end of September last, bound to New-York, was obliged to reland it.

At an ordination held at Christ church, on Friday the 19th inst. the right rev. William White, D. D. and bishop of the protestant episcopal church in Pennsylvania, admitted to the holy order of deacons, the rev. mr. Haney and mr. Henderson. And on Sunday the 21st inst. the bishop admitted them and the reverend mr. Wemyss, to the holy order of priests, and the reverend mr. Riggs to the holy order of deacon.

The 15th instant being the quarter-

ly communication of the grand lodge of Pennsylvania and masonic jurisdiction thereunto belonging, the several members met at their lodge room in Videll's-alley, and proceeded to ballot for the grand officers for the ensuing year, when

The most worshipful Jonathan B. Smith, esquire, was duly elected grand master.

The right worshipful George Ord, esquire, deputy grand master.

The right worshipful Joseph Dean, senior grand warden.

The right worshipful Joseph Few, junior grand warden.

The right worshipful Gavin Hamilton, junior, grand treasurer.

The right worshipful Asstheton Humphreys, grand secretary.

And on the 27th instant, being St. John the Evangelist's day, the aforesaid grand officers were duly installed to their respective offices. After which, the brethren, having refreshed themselves in harmony united with brotherly love, separated and retired to their respective avocations.

The honourable the general assembly of Pennsylvania, have been pleased to grant, to an ingenious European artist, the sum of one hundred pounds, as a premium for constructing a hand machine, for carding cotton wool, and another for spinning cotton yarn. Exclusive of this premium for his ingenuity, they have paid him liberally for the machines themselves. We are informed, that six sets of similar machines have been procured, by six associates in the united states. We hope, soon to hear of more extensive machines worked by horses, and by water; as the principles are the same, upon the large as upon the small scale. The manufacturing committee of Philadelphia, have commenced the sale of corduroys, federal rib, cottons, &c. made by these machines.

A manufacturing correspondent expresses an earnest wish, that the real and skilful manufacturers, at Bethlehem, would undertake the cotton manufactory with machines; they have houses prepared—money—undoubted credit—children to pick, and women to rope the cotton—women, to spin the linen thread, and bleach the goods—ground, water, and aqueducts, suitable for complete bleach-yards.

The simple business of dying drab and olive colours, they could easily acquire. Add to all these advantages, that they are very industrious and economical. In short, no other body of people in America appear to have such qualifications and conveniences, to carry on this profitable manufactory, to their private profit, and the public good. It is therefore hoped they will not be inattentive to what appears a sort of duty, incumbent on that valuable society.

A letter from Fort-Harmar, dated November 3, says, "the treaty is at last in a fair way to commerce, unexpectedly too, I believe; the Indians have been very long in holding council among themselves: but they are now coming in. We have the governor, commissioners, and captain Hutchins, with us."

The following are the resolves passed by the legislature of North Carolina, on the 17th ult. for calling a new convention.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, a new convention be recommended, for the purpose of reconsidering the constitution held out by the federal convention, as a government for the united states.

Resolved, That it be recommended to such of the inhabitants of this state as are entitled to vote for members of the house of commons, at the annual election, to be held in each county, on the third Friday and Saturday in August next, to vote for five persons in each county, and one person in each borough town, having a right of representation agreeably to the constitution of this state, to sit as a state convention, for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the proposed federal constitution for the future government of the united states, and on such amendments, if any, as shall or may be made to the said constitution by a convention of the states, previous to the meeting of the said convention of this state; which election shall be conducted agreeably to the mode, and conformably to the rules and regulations prescribed by law for conducting the election of members of the general assembly; and any citizen within this state, being a freeholder, shall be eligible to a seat in the

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said convention, sheriffs and returning officers excepted.

Resolved, That the sheriffs of the counties in this state, do advertise and notify the people of their counties and borough towns, of the time, place, and purpose of holding said election, at the same time, and in the same manner, as the laws require them to advertise for members of the general assembly.

Resolved, That the persons so elected, to serve in a state convention, do assemble and meet together on the third Monday in November next, at such a place as shall be appointed for the meeting of the next general assembly, then and there to deliberate and determine on the said constitution, and on the amendments, if any, and if approved by them, to confirm and ratify the same on behalf of this state, and make report thereof to congress and to the general assembly.

Resolved, That the members of the convention be allowed twenty shillings per day for their attendance at, going to, and returning from the place where they shall meet; and that they be authorized to make such allowance to their clerks and door-keepers as they shall think reasonable; and the treasurer is hereby directed to pay the same on a certificate signed by the president of the convention; provided, that such persons, as shall be elected members of the general assembly, as well as of the convention, shall be allowed mileage for coming to the convention only, and not for returning.

MARRIED.

In Boston—dr. Samuel Danforth to miss Patty Gray.

In Baltimore—mr. Richard Gittings to miss Polly Sterret.

At Reading, in Pennsylvania, Daniel Clymer, esquire, attorney at law, to miss Polly Widner.

In Philadelphia—Jonathan D. Sergeant, esquire, attorney at law, to miss Betsey Rittenhouse.

DIED.

In Cecil county, Maryland. James Loutit, esq.

In Baltimore—mrs. Rachel Carroll. Mr. William Waugh. Mrs. Maria Bouchett. Mr. John M'Curdy.

In Richmond—dr. Alexander Skinner.

In Philadelphia—mr. Andrew Doz.

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186
bid.

bid.
bid.

190
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193
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